

PROPER HEADS
OF
SELF-EXAMINATION
FOR A
K I N G.

Drawn up for the Use of the late
Dauphin of FRANCE, Father to his
present Majesty K. LEWIS XV. whilst
Duke of BURGUNDY.

By M. DE FENELON,
Archbishop and Duke of CAMBRAY.

Together with the
AUTHOR'S LIFE,
A complete Catalogue of his WORKS,
AND
MEMOIRS of his FAMILY.
Translated from the *FRENCH*.

L O N D O N,
Printed for C. DAVIS against *Gray's-Inn, Hol-*
bourn, T. OSBORNE in *Gray's-Inn,* and
L. DAVIS in *Fleet-street.* MDCCXLVII.

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ADVERTISING

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his last Testament from the FRENCH of



ADVERTISEMENT

TO THE

READER,

Prefixed to the FRENCH Edition.

THE *Heads of Self-examination for a King*, which we here present to the publick, is a genuine piece of the late M. de Fenelon, Archbishop of Cambray, that was actually printed in Holland, and design'd to have been added to the beautiful edition of his *Telemachus*; together with his *Life*, and a complete Catalogue of his works, drawn up by very good hands. But these pieces being then suppress'd by an order from the ministry of France, and fortunately falling into

into the hands of the Bookseller, he judg'd it would be doing an injury to the publick, if he any longer kept from them such curious productions, more especially as they in some degree complete the works of the illustrious Author.

The original, printed in Holland, is in the Bookseller's hands, ready to be produc'd in proof of what he has here advanc'd, in case any person shall be desirous of enquiring farther into the truth of it.

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PROPER HEADS
OF
SELF-EXAMINATION
FOR
A KING.

S I R,

NO one more earnestly desires, that you may live many years removed from the dangers inseparably attendant upon the exercise of the government than myself. I am lead to desire it, through a zealous regard for the preservation of his Majesty's sacred person, so necessary to his kingdom, and for the safety of the Dauphin. I wish it for the good of the publick in general, and for your own sake in particular; as the greatest

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misfortune that could possibly befall you, would be to become the master of others, at an age, when you are as yet so little master of yourself: 'tis requisite, however, to prepare you beforehand against the dangers of a condition, from which I pray God to keep you till you are far advanced in years. And the best method of making a prince that fears God, and is well-affected towards religion, acquainted with this condition, is to lay before him proper heads of Self-examination upon the duties of kingly government; and this is what I am now about to attempt.

I.

Instruction. Are you thoroughly acquainted with all the truths of the Christian religion? You will be judged according to the Gospel, in like manner as the least of your subjects. Do you study to learn your duty out of that divine law? Would you suffer a magistrate to judge the people daily in your name, without knowing your laws

laws and ordinances, which were to be the rule of his judgment? And do you expect, that God will overlook your ignorance in his law, according to which he requires you to live, and to govern his people? Do you read the Gospel, not through curiosity, but with an humble and tractable spirit, ready to practice what you read, and disposed to condemn yourself in all those things which that law shall reprove in you?

II.

Have you not given way to an imagination, that the Gospel was not to be a like rule for Kings, as for their subjects; that their political capacity exempted them from being humble, just, sincere, mild, compassionate, and willing to forgive injuries? Has no loose, corrupted, flatterer suggested to you, that kings ought to conduct themselves towards their subjects by certain maxims of haughtiness, cruelty, and dissimulation, rising above the common rules of justice and humanity; and

have not you been too apt to yield to the suggestion?

III.

Have you not sought out for counsellors of all sorts, who have been most disposed to flatter you in your notions of ambition, vanity, pride, wantonness, and artifice? And have you not with difficulty given ear to men of courage and disinterestedness, who desiring no favours from you, nor dazzled with your greatness, would, with all due respect, have laid before you the truths it became you to know, and opposed your will in order to prevent your doing amiss?

IV.

Have you not, in the most secret foldings of your heart, rejoiced at not seeing the good you had no desire to do, as it would have been too great a self-denial to have pursued it; and have you not sought for reasons to excuse the ill, to which your inclination has carried you?

V. Have

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Have you neglected to ask of God in prayer, that he would enlighten your understanding? Have you desired of him in your prayers, the grace of profiting by what you have read? If you have neglected to pray to him, you have brought upon yourself the guilt of all the ignorances, wherein you have lived, and which the spirit of prayer would have removed far from you. 'Tis of little consequence to read eternal truths, if we pray not to obtain the gift of understanding them aright. If you have not prayed as you ought, you have deserved to be left by God in darkness, and to have the proper means of correcting your faults, and fulfilling of your duty, hid from you. Thus negligence, weariness, and wilful distraction in prayer, which are usually considered as the slightest of all faults, are, notwithstanding, the real source of that fatal blindness, wherein the most part of Princes live.

VI.

Have you chosen for the directors of your conscience, men of the greatest piety, courage, and understanding; as the best Generals are chosen to command over armies in war, or the ablest Physicians in case of sickness? Have you herein consulted with several persons, that the judgment of one might keep you from being influenced by the prejudices of another; as the most able and upright person in the world is always liable to be prejudiced? Have you dreaded the inconveniences of giving up yourself entirely to the dictates of a single man? Or, have you allowed the several persons you have consulted with, the absolute liberty of laying before you, without reserve, whatever you are in conscience obliged to perform?

VII.

Have you taken pains to instruct yourself in the laws, customs, and usages

sages of your kingdom? The King is the chief judge in his dominions: 'Tis he who makes the laws; and 'tis he who interprets them, when occasion requires it; 'tis he who frequently passes judgment in his council, according to the laws which himself has made, or which were establish'd before his accession to the throne: 'tis he who is to correct all the other Judges: In a word, 'tis his office to superintend the administration of justice during peace, as it is his to preside at the head of an army in a time of war. And as war ought never to be engaged in but with regret, nor carried on farther than can possibly be avoided, and always with a view to peace; it follows, that the office of commanding over armies is but a transitory office, undertaken by constraint, and disagreeable to good kings; whereas that of judging the people, and keeping a watchful eye over all the judges, is their natural, essential, ordinary function, and inseparable from royalty. To judge well, is

to judge according to the laws : But in order to judge according to the laws, 'tis requisite to know them. Do you know them, and are you able to set right the judges, who are ignorant of them ? Are you well enough skill'd in the principles of law, to comprehend easily what is right, when a matter is brought before you ? Are you able to distinguish amongst your counsellors, those who flatter you, from those who do not ; those who religiously keep up to rules, from those who would wrest them in an arbitrary manner to their own views ? Don't say, that you are guided by a plurality of voices ; for besides that there are cases, wherein your council will be divided, and the decision must absolutely depend upon your own opinion, you are not there like the president of a society, but are withal the sole real judge. Your counsellors or ministers of state are persons merely to advise with ; his you alone, who in reality decide. The voice of a single man of probity and understanding, ought frequently

frequently to be preferred to the sentiments of ten judges, who are weak and cowardly, or obstinate and corrupt. The matter advanced ought rather here to be well weigh'd, than the number of voices regarded.

VIII.

Have you studied the true form of government establish'd in your kingdom? 'Tis not enough to know the laws, which secure and settle the property of your subjects; that is, doubtless, the least part of justice: But you must also be acquainted with the duties required of you, in cases depending betwixt your nation and yourself, betwixt you and your neighbours. Have you seriously studied what is call'd the Law of Nations; a law, which a King is the less allow'd to be unacquainted with, as it is to be the rule of his conduct upon the most important occasions, and is reducible to the most evident principles of the Law of Nature, which was instituted for all mankind? Have

you studied the fundamental laws, and the constant customs which have the force of law, by which your own nation in particular is governed? Have you, without partiality, enquired into the bounds of your own authority? Do you know the several forms, by which the kingdom was governed under the kings of different races? what the ancient parliaments were; and what the states-general, who succeeded them? what was the subordination of feuds? how things have passed into their present state? and upon what this change has been founded? Know you, what anarchy is, what arbitrary power, and what the regal authority established by the laws, the medium that lies between the two extremes? Would you allow a Judge to sit in judgment without knowledge of the law; or a General of an army to command, without skill in the art of war? And do you think that God will allow that you should reign, without being instructed in the proper bounds and exercise of your power? You must
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not therefore look upon the study of history, morality, and the several particulars belonging to the ancient form of government, as a matter of mere curiosity and indifference, but as an essential duty of the crown.

IX.

It is not enough to know what is past, you must also be acquainted with the present. Do you know the number of persons, whereof your nation consists? how many men? how many women? how many are employed in tillage? how many are handicraftsmen? how many of other professions? how many are concerned in trade? how many are priests and religious persons? how many nobles and gentlemen? and how many soldiers? What would be said of the shepherd, who did not know the number of his flock? 'Tis as easy for a King to know the number of his people; it may be done with a word's speaking. It becomes him to know, whether there are a sufficient

number to till the ground; whether there are too many handicraftsmen in proportion; too many of other professions; too great a number of troops for the state to support. He should know the temper and disposition of the inhabitants of different provinces, their principal customs, their privileges and freedoms, their commerce, and the laws of their respective trade, both within and without the kingdom. He should know the nature of the several courts of justice in every province; what are the privileges annexed to particular employments; what the abuses of those employments, &c. otherwise, he can never be able to know the real value of what is continually passing before his eyes; his ministers will easily impose upon him every moment; and at the same time that he thinks nothing escapes his view, he will see every thing but by halves. A King who is ignorant in all these particulars, is but a King by halves; his ignorance renders him incapable of reforming what is amiss,

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mish, and does more mischief than the corruption of the persons who govern under him.

X.

'Tis usually said of kings, *Of Example.* that their private vices are less to be dreaded, than their misconduct in the discharge of their royal authority. For my part, I boldly assert the contrary, and maintain, that whatever faults they commit, of the most private nature, are of infinite consequence to the kingdom. Examine, therefore, your morals very minutely. Subjects are servile followers of their princes, especially in such points, as gratify their own passions. Have they seen in you the bad example of a loose and criminal amour? If so, your authority has fix'd a mark of honour upon infamy; you have broke down the pale of chastity and modesty; you have made vice and impudence to triumph, and taught your subjects no longer to blush at shame; a fatal lesson, which they

they will never cease to remember. *Whoso offendeth one of these little ones, saith Jesus Christ, it were better for him, that a millstone were hanged about his neck, and that he were cast into the depth of the sea.* How great then is the scandal given by a King, who exposes vice as seated by him on the throne, not only to be gazed on by his own subjects, but withal by all the courts and all the nations of the known world? Vice is in itself a contagious poison. Mankind are always disposed to receive the infection, and by their inclinations prone to shake off the yoke of all modesty. A small spark kindles a great flame. What a King does, shall oft occasion a multiplication and succession of crimes, which shall extend to divers nations and several ages. Are these mortal examples none of them chargeable upon you? Perhaps you imagine that your irregularities have not been taken notice of. No, the ill that princes do is never kept secret; what good they do, may possibly remain

main conceal'd ; for people are hardly brought to believe, that they act upon any good motive ; but for evil, imagination shall suggest it of them, and it shall gain credit upon the slightest suspicions. The publick are extremely curious ; and whilst the prince pleases himself with thinking that his weaknesses are not known, he is the only person that does not know how severely they are censured. In him, every ambiguous word is liable to a bad construction ; every appearance of gallantry, every passionate air, or over-earrest look, shall give scandal, and have a tendency to corrupt the manners of a whole nation.

XI.

Have you not countenanced an immodest freedom in the women ? Do you admit none into your court, but such as are absolutely necessary ? none, but such as are about the Queen, or the Princesses of your house ? Do you chuse for such places women of an advanced

vanced age and approved virtue? Do you exclude from such places the young women, whose beauty may be a snare to your courtiers? 'Twere better by far, that such persons should live privately in their own families, at a distance from the court. Do you admit no ladies to reside in your court, as attendants upon the Princesses, but such as are necessary to wait upon them? Have you taken care, that the Princesses themselves be modest, reserved, and regular in their conduct? In lessening the number of the women, and making the best choice you have been able, have you particularly been careful to remove such as are fond of dangerous liberties, and to prevent the looser sort of your courtiers from seeing them in private, at such hours as the whole court do not appear in publick? These cautions, at this time of day, seem all of them too scrupulous and extravagantly severe. But if we go back to the times which preceded the reign of Francis I, we shall find, that before the
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scandalous licence introduced by that Prince, ladies of the first rank, and especially such as were young and handsome, did not come to court; at least, they appear'd there very seldom, and only to pay their duty to the Queen; and then, it was their honour to reside in the country in their own families. The great number of women that now frequent the court, is a monstrous abuse, to which the nation has been accustomed. Have not you countenanced this pernicious custom? Have you not brought to your court, or kept there in a distinguish'd manner, some female of a suspected character, or one who has actually, in the former part of her life, been guilty of misconduct? The court is by no means a proper place for such ungodly persons to do penance in; let them withdraw into places of retirement, if they are at their own liberty; or if they have husbands still living, and are obliged to be abroad in the world, let them repent in their own houses. But do you remove from your court whatever

ever has not been regular, as you have all the ladies of quality in your kingdom to chuse out of, wherewithal to supply their places.

XII.

Have you been careful to restrain luxury, and put a stop to the ruinous inconstancy of fashions? 'Tis this which corrupts the greatest part of the women; they put themselves to more expence by coming to court, than they are able to support without a crime; luxury increases in them the desire of pleasing, and their passion to please is principally employ'd in laying snares for the King. A Prince must be insensible and invulnerable, to resist all the allurements of the pernicious women he has about him; 'tis a temptation constantly at hand, to which he is perpetually exposed. Have not you permitted persons of great vanity and prodigality to invent new fashions, which have increased the general expences? Have not you yourself contributed to
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the growth of this evil, by the excess of your magnificence? Tho' you be a King, you should avoid whatever is very costly, and which others would have as well as you. 'Tis useless to alledge, that none of your subjects ought to allow himself a garb, which is suitable only to your rank. The Princes, who are nearly allied to you, will dress themselves very much in the same manner with yourself; the Lords will strive to emulate the princes; the Gentry will vye with the Lords; the Officers of the revenue will even go beyond them; and the Citizens will tread in the footsteps of these Officers, whom they have seen to spring up from a dunghil. Nobody values himself in due proportion, or sets a just estimate upon his own condition. Luxury passes from neighbour to neighbour, by imperceptible degrees, from persons in the highest station to the lowest of the people. If you put on embroider'd apparel, the whole world will soon wear it. The only means of putting a stop to luxury
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at once, is by giving yourself the example, which S. Lewis gave, of great plainness. Have you given this necessary example in every particular? Not only in your apparel, for that is insufficient, but also in your furniture, your equipage, your tables, and your buildings? Inform yourself how the Kings, your predecessors were lodg'd, and in what manner their apartments were fitted up; inform yourself what were their meals, and in what manner they were carried abroad; and you will be astonish'd at the prodigious luxury into which we are fallen. There are at this time more coaches and six in Paris, than there were mules an hundred years ago. It was not every one then that had a chamber to himself; a single chamber, with several beds in it, would suffice for several persons; now no one can do without large apartments, and a succession of rooms one within another. Every one must have gardens, fountains, statues, parks without limits, and houses, which shall
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cost more to keep in repair than the rent of the lands where they are situated. Whence comes all this, but from the example which some derive from others. Example alone is capable of reforming the manners of a whole nation. We even see that the folly of our fashions is contagious amongst all our neighbours. All Europe, jealous as it is of France, cannot avoid submitting seriously to our laws in the most frivolous and pernicious thing that belongs to us. Once more, such is the force of the prince's example, that by his discretion he is capable of restoring both his own people, and his neighbours to a good understanding. And as it is in his power, 'tis doubtless his duty. Have you done it?

XIII.

Have you not set a bad example, either by using too great freedom in your expressions, or by drollery and derision, or by a misbecoming manner of

of speaking concerning religion? Courtiers are servile imitators, and take a pride in having all the faults of their Prince. Have you rebuk'd irreligion, so as to shew your disapprobation of the least word that had a tendency to introduce it? Have you express'd a sincere indignation against impiety? And in such manner, as not to leave the least room to doubt of your sentiments? Have you never been restrain'd by a false shame, so as to blush at the profession of the Gospel? Have you, both by your discourse and actions, shewn your faith to be sincere, and given proof of your zeal for Christianity? Have you made use of your authority to suppress infidelity? Have you declin'd with abhorrence all obscene jesting, all equivocal discourses, with every other badge of libertinism?

XIV.

Of Justice.

Have you taken nothing from any of your subjects by mere authority, and in opposition to the rules

rules established? Have you made the reparation a private man would have done, when you have taken away his house, or inclosed his field in your park, or suppress'd his office, or sunk his revenues? Have you thoroughly examined the real necessities of the state, to compare them with the inconveniencies of taxes, before you have laid 'em upon your people? Have you consulted upon such an important point the men of the best understanding, most zealous for the public good, and most capable of laying the truth before you, without flattery or fear? Have you not given the name of necessity of state, to what has serv'd only to gratify your own ambition, such as a war undertaken for the sake of conquest, and to acquire glory? Have you not call'd your own pretensions the necessity of the state? If you have a personal claim to any succession in a neighbouring territory, you ought to support that war out of the income of your patrimonial possessions, your own private purse, or

personal loans ; at least you ought only to apply to this use the voluntary aids granted by the affection of your people, and not load 'em with taxes to support a pretension wherein they have no concern ; for your subjects will not be at all the happier, by your adding one province more to your dominions. When Charles VIII. marched to Naples, to recover the succession of the house of Anjou, he undertook the war at his own personal charge ; the state did not think themselves oblig'd to defray the expences of that enterprize. At most you can do no more upon such occasions than receive the free-will offerings of an affectionate people, presented in consideration of the united interest of a loyal nation and a King who governs it as a father. In which view you will be far from heaping taxes upon your people, to serve your own private interest.

XV.

Have you not tolerated wrongs at the same time that you abstain'd from doing them? Have you been sufficiently careful in the choice of the several persons whom you have put in authority under you, super-intendants, governors, ministers, &c. Have you chosen none of them through fear of disobliging the persons who recommended them, or from a secret desire that they should carry your authority, or augment your revenue, beyond their proper bounds? Have you duly inform'd yourself of their administration? Have you signified that you was ready to hear the complaints that could be made against them, and to do justice to those who had been injur'd by them? Have you done it, when at any time you have discovered their misdemeanours? Have you not given to your ministers, or suffer'd them to take, excessive profits, which their services had not deserv'd? The rewards which the prince bestows
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upon those who serve the state under him, ought always to be limited within certain bounds. It is not fit, that he should raise their fortunes above those of persons of the highest rank, or disproportion them to the present wants of the state. Let a minister have done ever so much service, he ought not at once to attain to an immense estate, whilst the people are distress'd, and the Princes and Lords of the first quality are necessitous. Much less is the King permitted to bestow such fortunes upon his favourites, who usually do the state still less services than his ministers.

XVI.

Have you appointed reasonable salaries for the secretaries of your ministers, and such other persons as are employed in subaltern offices, sufficient to afford them a decent subsistence, without taking any thing for the dispatch of business? At the same time, have you laid a restraint upon the luxury and ambition
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of such sort of people? if not, you are responsible for all the secret exactions they have made in their respective posts. On the one hand, they are admitted into these places, with an expectation of living in them in a handsome manner, and of speedily raising fortunes by them. And on the other hand, their salaries seldom amount to a third part of what they are obliged to spend in the genteel manner they and their families live. They are usually born to no estates; and what would you have them do? You lay them under a kind of necessity to get privately whatever they are able for the dispatch of business. This is evident; and a man must designedly shut his eyes, that does not discern it. You must therefore give them more, and at the same time prevent them from living in too expensive a manner.

XVII.

Have you sought out for means to ease your people, and to take nothing

from them but what the real necessities of the state have compell'd you to take for their own advantage? The substance of the people ought not to be otherwise employed, than for the real benefit of the people themselves. You have the rents and profits of your crown-lands, which you should receive and manage; they are design'd for the subsistence of your household. This domestick expence you ought to lessen, if at any time your royal revenue is overcharged with debts, and your people drained. The subsidies granted by the people, should be solely employed upon the real uses of the state. And in a time of publick poverty, you should study to retrench all offices that are not absolutely necessary. Have you advised with the most able and best disposed persons, capable of informing you concerning the condition of the provinces, the culture of the lands, the fruitfulness of the last years, the state of trade, &c. to know what the state can pay without suffering? And have you there-
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upon settled the taxes of each respective year? Have you given a favourable ear to the remonstrances of men of probity? Instead of discountenancing them, have you sought for them, and anticipated them, as a good Prince ought to do? You know, that formerly the King exacted nothing from the people by his sole authority; it was the Parliament, or assembly of the nation, that granted him the funds necessary for the extraordinary demands of the state. Except in this case, he lived upon the rents and revenues of his crown-lands. And what has changed this order, but the absolute authority which Kings have assumed? Even in our days, we have seen parliaments, which are bodies infinitely inferior to the ancient parliaments or states of the nation, remonstrate against enregistering pecuniary edicts. At least, you ought not to publish any, till after you had advised well with persons incapable of flattering you, and distinguish'd by a sincere regard for the publick welfare. Have

you not laid new burdens upon your people, to support your superfluous expences, the luxury of your tables, your equipages and furniture, the embellishment of your gardens and palaces, and the excessive gifts you have lavishly bestowed upon your favourites?

XVIII.

Have you not multiplied offices and employments, in order to draw fresh sums from their creation? Such creations are no more than taxes in disguise; they all tend to the oppression of the people, and are subject to three inconveniences, which ordinarily taxations are not. First, They are perpetual, when not reimbursed; and if at any time a reimbursement is made, what is very destructive to your subjects, new creations are presently set on foot again. Secondly, Those who purchase these new-created offices take care to repay themselves with usury, as soon as possible; you give up your people to be fleeced by them: For an hundred thousand

thousand livres, for instance, which they give you for a creation of offices, you give up your people to five hundred thousand livres of vexation, which they will suffer without remedy. Thirdly, By these multiplications of offices you ruin the civil government of the state; you render the administration of justice, by degrees, more venal; you make the reformation of abuses more and more impracticable; you run the whole nation in debt, for these creations become a kind of debts wherein the whole nation is involved; in fine, you reduce all arts and employments to monopolies, which corrupt and spoil the whole. Have you no such creations to reproach yourself with, whose consequences will be pernicious for several ages? The wisest and best Prince that ever sat on the throne, during a peaceable reign of fifty years, would not be able to make amends for the mischiefs which a King may have wrought by this sort of creations within the space of a ten years war? Have you not been too com-

plying with the courtiers, who under a pretence of sparing your revenues in the rewards they have asked of you, have proposed what they call *Affaires*? These Affairs are always impositions upon the people, which disturb the order of civil government, enervate the execution of justice, degrade all arts, discourage trade, and lay a burden upon the publick, to satisfy, for a little time, the greediness of an haughty and prodigal courtier. Send your courtiers into the country to pass some time upon their estates and look after their affairs; teach them to live frugally; let them see that you value none but such as live regularly, and manage with œconomy; shew a contempt for all those who ruin themselves through their folly: and by this means you will do them more good, without costing either yourself or your people a single penny, than if you lavish'd away upon them all the publick money within your dominions.

XIX.

Have you never tolerated your ministers in taking away the substance of private persons for your use, without paying the just value of it, or at least retarding the payment in such a manner, as to be detrimental to the persons who have been obliged to sell, or never been wilfully ignorant that they have done so? 'Tis thus, that ministers take the houses of private persons, to enclose them within the king's palaces, or in their fortifications. 'Tis thus, that they dispossess proprietors of their lordships, or fiefs, or lands of inheritance, to throw them into parks. 'Tis thus, that they erect establishments for the regulation of the game, in which the officers commission'd by the Prince shall take away the liberty of pursuing the game from the Lords in their own lands even to the gates of their castles, and commit a thousand disturbances in the country. The Prince knows nothing of it, and probably, through wil-

ful ignorance. But it is your duty to be made acquainted with the mischief that is wrought by your authority. Inform yourself of the truth, and suffer not your authority to be carried beyond its proper bounds. Give a favourable ear to such as lay before you its just extent; chuse such ministers as are not afraid to tell you wherein it is carried too far; and remove from you all such as are hard-hearted, haughty, and bold.

XX.

In your agreements with private people, are you as just as if you was upon an equal footing with that person with whom you treat? Is he free with you, as with one of his neighbours? Does he not rather chuse to lose, in order to get out of your hands, and deliver himself from vexation, than to maintain his right? The farmers of your revenues, stewards, &c. do they not behave with an haughtiness, which yourself would decline; and stifle the cries of the weak, when disposed to complain?

complain? Do you not frequently pay the man you contract with in rents, in draughts upon your demesne lands, in offices of novel creation, which one stroke of your successor's pen is capable of taking from him; because Kings are always minors, and their demesne lands unalienable. Thus private persons shall give up their certain patrimony, to receive in its stead what shall afterwards be taken from them, to the inevitable ruin of their families.

XXI.

Have you never, to raise their farms, granted edicts, or declarations, or decrees, to the farmers of your revenues, drawn up in ambiguous terms, to enlarge your pretensions at the expence of trade, and even to lay traps for the traders, to confiscate their goods, or at least to put them to trouble, and lay them under difficulties in the carrying on of their business, in order to make them pay for their deliverance out of them. This is doing a great injury to

tradesmen and the publick, whose business is by this means gradually reduced to nothing.

XXI.

Have you never suffer'd soldiers to be enlisted against their inclinations? 'Tis true, the people are obliged to defend the state in person; but then Princes should engage only in just and necessary wars; and in every village, choice should be only made of young persons under no engagement, whose presence might well be spared without any injury either to agriculture, or trade, or other necessary arts; and who have no families depending upon them; and farther, they should be infallibly dismiss'd after a few years service, and others sent to supply their places, and serve in their turn: Whereas, to pick up what men they please, against their own inclination; to impoverish, and frequently ruin, a whole family, by carrying away the head of it; to force the labourer from his cart, and keep
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him ten or fifteen years in the service, where he frequently dies miserably in hospitals, unprovided of proper necessities; is what nothing can excuse, either in the sight of God or man.

XXIII.

Have you taken care to set every galley-slave at liberty, immediately after the time allotted for his punishment is expired? The condition of these people is very terrible; nothing is more inhuman, than to prolong it beyond the term. 'Tis no excuse to say, that in this case men would be wanting to make up the whole crew; justice is preferable to having the crew compleat: You should never look upon any power as true and real, but that which belongs to you without transgressing the rules of justice, or taking what is not yours.

XXIV.

Do you give your troops the pay that is sufficient to maintain them without

out plunder? if you do not, you lay them under a necessity of committing the robberies and wrongs you seem disposed to forbid them. Would you punish them for having done what you know they could not avoid, and without which they must of necessity have quitted your service? And, on the other hand, would you not punish them, when they rob publickly against your exprefs prohibition? Would you make the laws contemptible, and suffer such an indignity to be offered to your authority? Will you openly act inconsistently with yourself; and will not your authority be a meer farce, in seeming to discountenance disorders, and at the same time making your advantage of them every moment? What discipline or order can be hoped for in troops, where the officers cannot live but by plundering the King's subjects, by transgressing his ordinances every moment, and obliging men to enlist by force and fraud; where the soldiers would

would be starved to death, if they did not every day deserve to be hang'd.

XXV.

Have you done no injustice to foreign nations? A poor wretch is hang'd for an high-way robbery of a single pistole, committed in extreme necessity; and the man who makes a conquest, or, in other words, who brings under an unjust yoke the territories of a neighbouring state is respected as an hero. The unjust seizure of a meadow or a vineyard, is consider'd as a sin not to be forgiven by God without restitution; and the usurpation of towns and provinces is counted as nothing. To take a field from a private man is a great sin; but to take a large country from a nation, is an innocent and a glorious action. Where then are the ideas of justice? Will God judge in like manner? *Existimasti inique, quod ero tui similis*; "Thou thoughtest wickedly, that I shall be such a one as thyself." Does justice depend upon what is great-

er or less? Or, does it cease to be any longer justice, when conversant about objects of the highest concern? Are the millions, which make up a nation, less our brethren than a single man? Or, shall we, without scruple, do that injury to millions of men where a whole country is concern'd, which we dare not do to a single man in the case of a particular field? Whatever therefore is taken away by mere conquest, is taken away unjustly, and ought to be restored. And the case is the same with whatever is taken away in a war, that is engaged in upon a wrong account. Treaties of peace hide nothing, when you are the stronger, and oblige your neighbour to sign the treaty to avoid a greater mischief; he then signs, as a private man gives his purse to a thief who holds a pistol to his breast. The war you have wrongfully begun, and carried on with success, instead of procuring you peace of conscience, engages you not only to restore the territories you have usurp'd, but also to repair the
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the damages you have done, without cause, to your neighbours. As to treaties of peace, they are to be reckon'd null, not only in all the unjust points, which have been consented to through violence, but likewise in all those where you have found means to insert any artful and ambiguous expression, that may be capable of serving your turn upon a favourable occasion. Your enemy is your brother; nor can you be unmindful of it, unless you forget yourself to be a man. You are never allow'd to do ill to him, when you can avoid it without injuring yourself; nor can you ever seek to gain any advantage against him by arms, but in a very great necessity. In treaties, neither arms, nor war, have place any longer; the subject then only is peace, justice, humanity, and sincerity. It is far more infamous and criminal, to over-reach in a treaty of peace with a neighbouring people, than to be guilty of tricking in a contract with a private person. To insert ambiguous and captious terms in a treaty,

ty, is to prepare the seeds of war for the generation to come, 'tis to lay barrels of powder under houses that are inhabited.

XXVI.

When the subject of a war was in debate, did you, from the beginning, examine your pretensions, and cause them to be enquired into by others, who were men of distinguish'd understanding, and least liable to flatter you? Have you been upon your guard against the advices of such ministers, as have an interest in engaging you in a war, or at least seek to comply with your passions, with a view of procuring from you wherewithal to gratify their own? Have you enquired into all the reasons that may be urged against you? Have you lent a favourable ear to such as have search'd thoroughly into them? Have you allow'd yourself time to know the sentiments of the wisest of your counsellors, without anticipating their judgments? Have you not con-
sider'd

sider'd your personal glory as a reason for engaging you in any attempt, for fear of passing your life without distinguishing yourself from other Princes? As if Princes could find any solid glory in molesting the happiness of the people, towards whom they ought to bear a paternal affection: as if a parent could gain esteem by such actions as make his children unhappy: or, as if a King could hope for any real glory, that was not founded in his virtue, that is, in his justice, and in the good government of his people? Have you not judg'd the war to be necessary for acquiring such places as were commodious to you, and a better security for your frontiers? A strange rule! Were such conveniencies to take place, one might go from one neighbouring situation to another, till we reach'd to China. As to the security of a frontier, it may be found without encroaching upon the property of another. Fortify your own places, and do not wrongfully seize upon those of your
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neighbours. Would you allow your neighbour to take whatever he should judge commodious for his security? Your security gives you no right to another's property. Your safest security is to act justly; 'tis to keep good allies, by an upright and discreet conduct; 'tis to have a numerous people, in prosperous circumstances, well-affected, and well-disciplined. But what can be more contrary to your security, than to let your neighbours see they can expect none from you, and that you are always disposed to take from them whatever shall be commodious to yourself?

XXVII.

Have you thoroughly examin'd, whether the war in debate was necessary to your people? Perhaps the point in question concern'd only some personal claim of your own, wherein your people had no real interest? What imports it to them, whether you have a province more? They may, out of af-
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fection to you, if you carry it to them as a father, assist you in the recovery of such territories, as by right of succession lawfully belong to you; but can you load them with taxes against their inclination, to supply yourself with the funds necessary to carry on a war, wherein they have no advantage? Farther, let us suppose the war directly to concern the state; 'tis your duty to consider, whether the profit or loss is likely to be the greater. You should compare the benefits that may be drawn from it, or at least the mischiefs that may be apprehended from not engaging in it, with the inconveniences that will necessarily follow after it. When all is over, there is scarce any war, however happily executed, that is not attended with greater mischief than advantage to a state. Consider but how many families it ruins, how many lives it costs, how many countries it ravages and depopulates, how many disorders it brings upon an estate, how it subverts the laws, how it countenances licentiousness,

ness, and how many years it requires to set right what shall be done amiss in only two years war, with respect to the good government of a state. Would any sensible man, that was not influenced by his passion, engage in a lawsuit, tho' sure of his right, if he was convinced before-hand, that though he gain'd his cause, it would do more mischief than service to the large family he had to take care of? This just weighing of the good and ill arising from war, would always determine a good King to decline it, by reason of its fatal consequences; for, where are the advantages, that can counterballance so many inevitable mischiefs, without mentioning the dangers following upon ill success. There can be but one case, where a war, notwithstanding all its ills, becomes necessary; and that is, when we cannot avoid it without giving too great advantage to an unjust and crafty enemy, who is already too powerful. Then, indeed, by endeavouring weakly to avoid a war,
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we should only fall more dangerously into it ; we should make a peace, which in reality would be no peace, and only carry the deceitful appearance of being so. Then, indeed, however disinclin'd to it, it would be a duty to push on the war with vigour, through a sincere desire of promoting a good and lasting peace. But this single case more seldom happens than we are apt to imagine ; and frequently is judged to be real, when it is highly chimerical. When a King is just, sincere, inviolably faithful to all his allies, and powerful in his own country through the wisdom of his government, he has wherewithal to put a stop to the encroachments of his restless and unjust neighbours, who are disposed to fall upon him. All the world is concern'd in supporting him. If his cause is just, he may first pursue all the mildest methods, before he enters upon war ; having prepared against all events, by powerfully arming himself, he may offer to take the advice of certain neutral and disin-

disinterested neighbours; he may take something upon himself for the sake of peace, avoid all steps that may exasperate, and try all the ways of accommodation; and if all this proves to be of no purpose, he will fight with greater confidence in the protection of God, with greater zeal in his subjects, and more firmly succour'd by his allies. But it will seldom happen, that he will be obliged to make war under such circumstances. Three fourths of the wars that are engaged in, arise from pride and haughtiness, from craft, covetousness, and precipitation.

XXVIII.

Have you faithfully kept your word with your enemies, in capitulations, cartels, &c. War has its laws, which are no less strictly to be observed, than those of peace. Even when two parties are at war, there subsists a certain Law of Nations, which is the ground-plot of humanity itself; 'tis a sacred and inviolable obligation between
People,

people, which no war can dissolve; otherwise, war would be no more than plunder, and a perpetual series of treacheries, assassinations, abominations, and barbarities. You should do to your enemies what you think they have a right to do to you. There are violences and stratagems in war which are mutual, and are expected on both sides. In all other respects, there ought to be a strict sincerity and a true humanity. It is not allow'd, to render fraud for fraud. It is not allow'd, for instance, to enter into engagements with a view of breaking them, because the enemy has made promises to you, which he has not kept. Farther, In a war between two independent nations, the more noble or more mighty crown is not to decline submitting equally to all the laws that are common to war. A Prince, who plays with a private man, is no less oblig'd than he, to observe strictly all the laws of the game, from the time that he plays with him; in that respect, tho' in that only, he puts

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himself

himself upon the same footing with him. The most high and mighty Prince ought to be the most scrupulous in rigidly keeping up to all the rules required in the contributions, which secure his people from captures, massacres, and conflagrations; in cartels, capitulations, &c.

XXIX.

It is not enough to observe the capitulations made with enemies; those that are made with a conquer'd people must likewise be religiously kept. As you should keep your word with the enemy's garrison, which is withdrawn from a conquer'd town, without any fraudulent interpretation of ambiguous terms; so ought you to keep strictly your word with the people of the town, and its dependencies. Of what importance is it, to whom you promised the conditions agreed to in favour of the people? The case is the same, whether the engagement was made with themselves or the garrison. Certain it is, that

that you have promised such conditions for the people, and 'tis your duty to keep them inviolably. Who can trust you if you break them? Or what will ever be sacred, if such a promise is not? 'Tis a contract enter'd into with the people, to make them your subjects; and will you begin with the violation of your fundamental title? They owe you obedience only by virtue of this contract, and if you break it, you no longer deserve to have them keep it.

XXX.

Have you not, during the war, done useless mischief to your enemies? Those enemies are always men, and always your brethren. If you are yourself a true man, you ought to do them no other mischief than what you cannot avoid doing, to secure yourself from the harm they would do you, and to bring them to a just peace. Have you not invented and introduced purely for the sake of destroying them, through pas-

sion or pride, new kinds of hostilities? Have you not countenanced ravages, burnings, sacrileges, and massacres, which have not been decisive, without which you might have defended your cause; and notwithstanding which your enemies have equally carried on their opposition against you? You must give an account to God, and make reparation to the utmost of your power for all the ills which you have authorized, and which have been done without necessity.

XXXI.

Have you punctually executed treaties of peace? Have you never broken 'em under specious pretences? As to the articles in the antient treaties which are ambiguous, instead of making them the ground-work of a war, they ought to be interpreted by the execution which immediately followed 'em. This immediate execution is the infallible interpretation of the words. The parties, immediately after the treaty,

ty, understood each other perfectly well; they knew better what they intended to say, than other persons can know fifty years after. Thus possession is decisive in this respect; and to endeavour to disturb it, is an attempt to elude what is most certain and inviolable amongst mankind. To give some stability to the world, and security to nations, there are two points to be supposed preferably to all others, which are as the two poles of the whole earth. The one, that every treaty of peace confirm'd by oath between two princes is inviolable with respect to them, and must always be taken simply in its most natural sense, and interpreted by the immediate execution. The other, that every quiet and uninterrupted possession for a length of time, equivalent to the term required by law for fixing the most unfavourable prescription, must procure a certain and lawful property to the possessor, however defective the possession may have originally been. Without

these two fundamental rules, there is no rest nor security amongst mankind. Have you constantly follow'd them?

XXXII.

Have you done justice to the merit of all the principal subjects whom you was able to put into employments? In not doing justice to private persons in their substance, their lands, rents, &c. you wrong only those private persons and their families; but in not paying a proper regard to virtue and abilities in the choice of men, you do an irreparable injustice to your whole state. The persons you have not chose into places have in reality lost nothing; as those places would have been to them but opportunities, dangerous both to their eternal salvation, and their temporal ease; but 'tis your whole kingdom that you have unjustly depriv'd of an assistance which God had prepared for it. Men of superiour genius and integrity are more scarce than can well be imagin'd; they should be sought

sought for even to the ends of the earth: *Procul & de ultimis finibus pretium ejus*; as the wise Man expresses himself of the virtuous woman. Why have you depriv'd the state of the assistance of such men as have been superiour to others? Was it not your duty to fill the highest places with the choicest men? Was it not the principal part of your office? A king does not discharge the duty of a king, by attending to such particulars, as others who govern under him are capable of directing; his essential function is to do that which nobody but himself can do; it is, to make a good choice of such as are to exercise his authority under him; it is to assign to every one the place which properly suits him; and to do all in the state, not by himself (for that were impossible) but by causing all to be done by the men he makes choice of, animates, instructs, and puts into the right way. This is the proper business of the King. Have you quitted all the rest, which others

under you were capable of doing, in order to apply yourself to this essential branch of your duty, which you alone was capable of discharging? Have you been careful to mark out a certain number of sensible and well-minded persons, by whom to be informed of the several subjects, who have distinguish'd themselves in every profession? Have you questioned them all separately, in order to see if their testimonies concerning each subject agreed together? Have you had patience to enquire, by these different channels, into the sentiments, inclinations, habits, and conduct of every man, whom you have had it in your power to put into a place? Have you seen the men themselves? To be continually shut up in a closet, and dispatching business there, is to rob the state of the most precious part of your time. A King must see, talk to, and hear abundance of persons; he must learn by his experience to study men, and must know them by frequent conversation and a free access. If you study

study men well, without seeming to do it, conversation will be far more useful to you than many points which are judg'd important; you will thereby discern their levity, indiscretion, vanity, and artifice, their flatteries, and their false maxims. Princes have an infinite power over those that are about them; and those who are about them have an equal weakness in approaching them. The sight of princes awakens every passion, and lays open all the wounds of the heart. If a prince knows how to make an advantage of this ascendant, he will soon discover the principal weaknesses of every man. Another way of making trial of men is by putting them into lower employments, to see if they will be fit for such are higher. Have an eye upon the behaviour of the men in their office, whom you trust with any employment, follow them close, never lose sight of them, learn what they do, and make them give you an account of what you have committed to their charge,

charge, turn your discourse upon this head when you see them. Thus you will never want subject for conversation. You will find out their natural disposition by the parts they have taken of themselves. It may sometimes not be amiss to conceal your own real sentiments, in order to discover theirs; ask their advice, you may follow what you please. This is the proper duty of a King. Have you discharg'd it? Have you not neglected to know men, thro' an indolence of temper, thro' particularity of humour, thro' an haughtiness of disposition which has made you decline society, thro' engaging in matters which are but trifles in comparison of this study of mankind; or lastly, by amusement in your closet under a shew of pursuing business in private? Have you not dreaded, and for that reason remov'd far from you such subjects as have been distinguish'd from others by their courage and virtue? Have you not been afraid lest they should pry too narrowly

rowly into your conduct, and make too great discoveries of your weaknesses, if placed too near your person? Have you not been afraid that they would not flatter you, that they would oppose your unjust passions, your bad tastes, your mean and misbecoming designs? Have you not rather chose to make use of certain interested and crafty persons, who make it their business to flatter you, who seem not to see any of your faults, and applaud all your whims; or rather of certain mean servile people whom you easily sway, whom you hope to blind, without courage ever to contradict you, and who govern you the more as you have no distrust of their authority, and are not afraid that they should shew themselves to be of a genius superiour to your own? Have you not, through such bad motives as these, advanc'd weak or wicked men to the highest places; and remov'd far from you what was better able to assist you in affairs of the greatest consequence? To rob another of his lands, posts, or money, is
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an injustice by no means comparable with this that I have mentioned.

XXXIII.

Have you not accustom'd your domestics to a more expensive way of living than their condition has requir'd, and to salaries which have been a burden to the state? Do not your valets de chambre, valets de garderobe, &c. live like lords, whilst persons of real quality pine away in your anti-chamber without any benefit, and many others of the most illustrious houses live retired in the provinces, under necessity of concealing their wretchedness? Have you not, under the pretext of keeping up the splendour of your court, countenanced luxury of dress, equipages and furniture, in all subaltern officers, who have neither birth, nor solid merit, and who think themselves superiour to persons of quality, because they talk familiarly to you, and easily obtain favours from you? Have you not been too much afraid of their

their importunity? Have you not been more afraid of disobliging them, than of neglecting to do justice? Have you not been too much influenced by the vain marks of zeal and attachment to your person, which they eagerly express towards you, with a view to please you, and advance their own fortune? Have you not made them wretched, by letting them conceive hopes that were disproportion'd to their own condition and your affection for them? Have you not ruin'd their families, by letting them die without any solid substance to leave to their children, after having suffered them to live in a ridiculous pomp, which consum'd the great profits they receiv'd from you during their life-time? And has not the case been the same with your other courtiers, according to their respective degrees? Whilst they live, they drain the whole kingdom; and when they die, they leave their families worth nothing. You give them too much, and at the same time make them spend too much; and thus

thus those who ruin the state, ruin also themselves. 'Tis you who are the cause of it, by keeping so many useless proud spendthrifts about you, who from their foolish extravagancies have a right to demand fresh contributions from you, which they may still be able to squander away.

XXXIV.

Have you taken up no prejudice against any particular person, without making a sufficient enquiry into the facts laid to his charge? This would be to open a passage to calumny and misreport, or at least unadvisedly to fall in with the prejudices of the persons that are about you, and in whom you place your confidence. You must not listen and give credit only to a certain set of men; they are certainly men, and though they were even incorruptible, they are at least not infallible. Whatever confidence you have in their judgment and virtue, you are oblig'd to examine whether they are not deceiv'd
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by others, or obstinately blind themselves. As often as you give yourself up to a certain set of men, who are allied by the same interest, or by the same sentiments, you wilfully expose yourself to be misled, and to act wrongfully. Have you not sometimes clos'd your eyes against certain strong reasons, or at least have you not acted rigorously in a doubtful case, to satisfy those about you, whom you fear'd to disoblige? Have you not thrown out of places persons of distinguish'd merit and abilities, upon uncertain reports? 'Tis a natural suggestion, *These accusations cannot possibly be got over, the surest way is to put the man out of place.* But this pretended caution is the most dangerous snare, that can be laid. For by this means there is made no discovery, and the informers gain all that they aim at. A final judgment is pass'd without due examination; merit is excluded, and frightful images are form'd of the persons, whom the informers would have suspected. By an

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informer, is meant a man who takes up this trade, and by this horrid employment seeks to insinuate himself into favour, and by consequence is evidently undeserving of any credit. To believe him, is wilfully to expose one's self to destroy the innocent. A Prince who lends an ear to profess'd informers, deserves neither to be acquainted with truth nor virtue. These pests should be put out of countenance and driven from court. But as the Prince ought to know what is done, he should have about him some honest men, whom he must oblige even against their inclination to have a watchful eye upon all that passes, and to give him notice of it in secret. For this office he should make choice of persons the most opposite to it, and who most abhor the infamous practice of informing. These will lay before him only real and important facts, which are of use to the publick without troubling him with every trifle, which it imports him not to know. At least they will speak of
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doubtful matters as doubtful; and it will be his part to search more narrowly into them, or to suspend his judgment if they cannot be cleared up.

XXXV.

Have you not bestow'd too many good offices upon your ministers, your favourites, and their creatures, whilst you have suffer'd persons of merit, who have serv'd long, and want protection, to live necessitous? Usually the great failing of Princes is, that they are weak, voluptuous, and indolent. They are seldom guided either by merit, or the real faults of mankind; the true nature of things does not reach them; their determination ordinarily proceeds from their not daring to decline compliance with those whom they are accusom'd to see and believe. They often bear them with impatience, and yet continue slaves to them; they see their faults and are content with seeing them. They please themselves with not being dup'd by them, and after that they
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blindly follow them. To them they sacrifice merit, innocence, distinguish'd talents, and the longest services. Sometimes they shall lend a favourable ear to the man that shall presume to speak against those ministers or favourites, and upon seeing the charge clearly made out, they shall storm, and promise to support the accuser against the minister, or the favourite. But soon the Prince shall grow weary of protecting the man, whose sole dependance is upon himself; the protection is too painful to him in the end; and for fear of seeing a dissatisfied countenance in the person of the minister, the honest man, who hath told him the truth, shall be given up to his indignation. After this, do you deserve to be inform'd? Can you hope that any one will inform you? What wise man will presume to apply himself directly to you, without taking the minister in his way, whose jealousy is implacable? Do you not deserve to see only with his eyes? And are you not given up to his most unjust

just passions, and most unreasonable prejudices? And have you any remedy left against so great an evil?

XXXVI.

Do you not suffer yourself to be blindly carried away by certain vain enterprizing men, who have the art to set themselves off, whilst you neglect and take no notice of plain, modest, bashful, and conceal'd merit? A Prince shews the grossness of his taste, and the weakness of his judgment, when he cannot discern how superficial and full of contemptible faults these bold and imposing persons are. Light-headed people, great talkers, pragmatical and positive persons, scornful criticisers, and banterers, who turn every thing into a joke, are never esteem'd by a wise and judicious Prince. He despises such as find every thing easy, who applaud every thing he likes, and who watch his eyes, or the tone of his voice, to find out his intention, and to approve of it. He keeps out of all places of
trust

trust such persons as are meer outsidēs without depth ; and on the contrary searches after, anticipates, and invites judicious and solid persons, who are not eager after employment, but distrust themselves, and are afraid of being employ'd, who promise little and endeavour to do a great deal, who speak seldom and think much, who express themselves in a doubtful manner, and know how to contradict with respect. Such subjects often remain obscure in inferiour places, whilst the higher posts are fill'd by bold and ignorant men, who have imposed upon the Prince, and serve only to shew how much he wants discretion. Whilst you neglect to enquire after conceal'd merit, and to discourage forward men without solid talents, you will be answerable to God for all the faults that shall be committed by those who act under you. The trade of an artful courtier is very destructive to a state. The least understanding, and the most corrupted, are often those who are best skilled

skilled in this unworthy profession. 'Tis a profession which spoils all others. The doctor neglects his practice; the prelate overlooks the duties of his ministry; the general of an army thinks more of making his court, than of defending the state; the ambassador negotiates more for his own interest at his master's court, than for the true interest of his master at the court to which he is sent. The art of making court corrupts men of all professions, and stifles real merit. Bring down then those men whose whole talent lies in pleasing, in flattering, in casting false appearances before your eyes, and in insinuating themselves to make their fortune. If you do not, you will fill all places unworthily, and true merit will be always left behind. 'Tis your duty to put back those who thrust themselves too forward, and to bring forward those, who by doing their duty, stay too far behind.

XXXVII.

Have you not heap'd too many employments upon the head of a single man, either to gratify his ambition, or to save yourself the trouble of having too many people, whom you shall be obliged to speak to? When once a man comes to be the man in fashion, all is given to him; and it is judg'd right, that he only should do every thing. Not that he is loved, for nothing is so; nor that he is depended on, for the probity of all mankind is distrusted; nor that he is found perfect, for it is a pleasure frequently to find fault with him; but merely from indolence and self-will. One cares not to have to do with abundance of people; to converse with fewer, and not be too narrowly observed by so many, one shall make a single man do, what four would find a great difficulty in doing. The publick suffers by it, dispatches linger, oversights and wrongs are more frequent, and less capable of being remedied. The man is
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over-burden'd, and would be highly displeased if he were not. He has no time either to think, or to make a thorough enquiry, or to form schemes, or to study the men whom he employs, but is constantly dragg'd on, from day to day, by a torrent of business which he has to dispatch. Besides, such a number of employments in one single person, frequently weak enough, excludes all the better subjects, that were capable of forming and executing great things. No opportunity is given for the improvement of any talent; and the Prince's indolence is the real cause of it. The most weighty affairs are determin'd by the slightest reasons. And thence arise innumerable wrongs. *Pauca de te*, said St. Augustine to Count Boniface, *sed multa propter te*. Possibly you may not do much harm in your single person, but infinite mischief by putting your authority into bad hands.

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*Here ended the heads of Self-examination: But the following discourse, whereof the manuscript also is entirely remaining in the hand-writing of Mons. de Fenelon, Archbishop of Cambray, has been judg'd a proper Supplement to them, and fit to make up one * piece with the foregoing.*

NEighbouring states are not only obliged to behave mutually towards each other according to the rules of justice and honesty, but ought likewise, as well for the sake of their own security, as of their common interest, to form themselves into a kind of society and general republick.

It should be held as a maxim, that the greatest power will in time always prevail over and overthrow the rest, unless the latter unite to keep the balance even. There is no reason to hope,

* This is the piece which is supposed to have most displeased, in some shape, certain of the French ministry, and principally determin'd them to suppress this whole work.

that

that amongst mankind a superior power should constantly be kept within the bounds of a strict moderation, or that it should not be disposed to desire more when strong, than it was able to obtain in its greatest weakness. Though there even was a Prince of so much perfection as to make such a wonderful use of his prosperity, the wonder would cease with his reign. The natural ambition of sovereign princes, the flatteries of their counsellors, and the prejudice of whole nations, will not allow us to think it possible, that one nation which has it in its power to conquer others, should abstain from it for whole ages; one reign distinguish'd by such an extraordinary display of justice, would be the ornament of history, and a prodigy never more to be seen again. We must therefore rely upon fact and daily observation, that every nation is desirous of prevailing over all the others that lie round it. Every nation, therefore, is obliged, for its own security, to be continually upon its guard, to prevent the

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excessive

excessive growth of power in every neighbour. To hinder a neighbour from growing too powerful, is not to do evil; it is to secure ourselves from slavery, and our neighbours also; it is to stand up in the cause of liberty, tranquillity, and the publick safety; for the aggrandizing of a nation beyond certain bounds, changes the general system of all the nations that have any relation to it. For instance, the several successions that fell into the house of Burgundy, and then those which advanced the house of Austria, changed the face of all Europe. All Europe had reason to apprehend an universal monarchy under Charles V. especially after Francis I. had lost the battle of Pavia, and was taken prisoner. 'Tis certain, that a nation, which had no direct quarrel with Spain, had, notwithstanding, at that time a right, in regard to the publick liberty, to oppose the rapid course of that power, which seem'd ready to swallow up all before it.

Private persons have no right to oppose the increase of riches in their neighbours, because we may suppose, that this increase in one cannot be the ruin of the rest. There are written laws, and magistrates, to restrain the wrongs and violences committed between families unequal in substance; but with states, the case is far otherwise. The too great increase of one only may be the ruin and slavery of all the others, who are neighbours to it; nor are there either written laws, or judges appointed, to serve as a barrier against the invasions of the most powerful. They have always a right to suppose, that the most powerful will at length exert its strength, when there shall be no other force of a like degree to put a stop to its progress. Thus every Prince has a right, and is even obliged, to prevent such an increase of power in his neighbour, as will expose both his own people, and all the other neighbouring people, to the approach-

ing danger of slavery without redemption.

For instance, Philip II. King of Spain, after he had conquered Portugal, had a mind to make himself master of England. I know well, that his title was ill-grounded, for he had no claim but by Queen Mary his wife, who died without children. Elizabeth, who was illegitimate, had no right to reign. the crown belong'd to Mary Stuart, and her son. But supposing that the right of Philip II. had been incontestable, all Europe would have had reason, notwithstanding, to have opposed his settlement in England; because the addition of so mighty a kingdom to his dominions in Spain, Italy, Flanders, the East and West Indies, would have enabled him to give law, especially by his maritime force, to all the other powers of Christendom. In this case, *Summum jus, summa injuria*. A particular right of succession, or donation, ought to yield to the natural law
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of the security of so many nations. In a word, whatever overthrows the equilibrium, and gives the decisive stroke for Universal Monarchy, cannot be just, though it were even founded upon the written laws of a particular country. The reason is, that these written laws of a particular people, cannot prevail over the natural law of liberty and the common security, engraven in the hearts of all the other people of the world. Where power rises to such a height, that all the other neighbouring powers together are no longer able to resist it, all the others have a right to combine together to prevent that encrease, in consequence of which it would be too late to defend the common liberty. But before such leagues, which tend to prevent the too great increase of power in a state, can be lawfully form'd, the case must be real and pressing; the league must likewise be only defensive; or at least made no farther offensive, than as a just and necessary defence shall find itself included in the scheme of an aggression;

gression ; there must also, in treaties of offensive leagues, such fix'd bounds be always set, as never to destroy a power under a pretence of limiting it.

This care to keep up a kind of equality and equilibrium amongst neighbouring nations, is that which secures the common repose. In this respect, all the nations that are neighbours to each other, and united by commerce, make up a great body, and a kind of community. For instance, Christendom makes a kind of general republick, which has its interests, its apprehensions, its precautions to observe. All the members, which compose this great body, are under obligations to each other for the sake of the common good, and to themselves for the security of their country, to prevent such a progress in any one of their members, as would subvert the equilibrium, and turn to the inevitable ruin of all the other members of the same body. Whatever changes or alters this general system of Europe, is too dangerous,
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and draws after it an infinite train of evils.

All the neighbouring nations are so united by their interests to each other, and to the whole body of Europe, that the least particular advances are capable of altering this general system, which constitutes the equilibrium, and wherein alone the publick security can consist. Take away one stone from an arch, and the whole building shall fall, because all the stones are supported by their pressure against each other.

Humanity therefore lays the neighbouring nations under a mutual obligation to defend the common safety against a neighbouring state, which becomes too powerful; as there are mutual obligations amongst fellow-citizens for the liberty of their country. If a citizen owes much to his country, whereof he is a member, every nation owes still more to the repose and safety of the universal republick, whereof it is a member, and in which all the

countries of particular persons are included.

Defensive leagues are therefore just and necessary, when the business really is to prevent a particular power from growing to such a height, as to be able to invade the whole. Nor has this superior power a right to break the peace with the other inferior powers, merely upon account of their defensive league; because they have a right to make it, and are even under obligations so to do.

As to an offensive league, it depends upon circumstances. It should be grounded upon breaches of the peace, or upon the detention of some country belonging to the allies, or upon the certainty of some other resembling foundation. Farther, as I have already observed, such treaties should be always limited to conditions, that may prevent the consequences which are frequently seen to follow, when one nation lays hold of the necessity of humbling another,

ther, which aspires to universal tyranny, in order to aspire to it itself in its turn. The proper way of making treaties of alliance, as well as the justest and honestest, is to make them very express, free from all equivocal terms, and precisely limited to the certain benefit you more immediately desire to obtain from them. If great care is not taken of this, your engagements will turn to your disadvantage, by reducing your enemies too low, and advancing your ally too high. In this case, you must either suffer what is destructive to you, or depart from your engagements; both which particulars are almost equally fatal.

Let us go on to argue upon these principles in the particular case of Christendom, as 'tis that wherein we are most concern'd.

There are here only four kinds of systems. The first is to be absolutely superior to all the other powers, even when united. This is the state of the Romans, and that of Charlemagne.

The second is to be the superior power in Christendom to the others singly, who, notwithstanding, when united, shall be nearly equal. The third is to be a power inferior to another, but supported by its union with all its neighbours against the predominant power. Lastly, the fourth is to be a power as near as may be equal to another, which keeps all quiet by this kind of equilibrium, which it honestly sustains without ambition.

The state of the Romans and Charlemagne is by no means a state to be desired. First, as it cannot be obtain'd without committing great wrongs and violences of all sorts; you must seize upon what does not belong to you, and do it by wars, abominable both as to their duration and extent. Secondly, The design is very dangerous; for states are often ruin'd by the folly of these ambitious pursuits. Thirdly, Those immense empires, which have wrought so much mischief in their formation, have soon after suffered
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more terribly by their fall. The first minority, or weak Prince upon the throne, shakes the too heavy mass, and separates the people, who are not as yet accustom'd to the yoke, or not thoroughly united; and then what divisions arise, what confusion, what anarchy, without remedy? We need but recollect the ills which fell out in the West, upon the sudden fall of the empire of Charlemagne; and the overthrow of that of Alexander in the East, whose captains did more mischief in dividing his spoils, than himself had done in ravaging Asia. This is the system most apt to dazzle, most flattering, and most fatal to those who are able to execute it.

The second system is of a power superior to all the others singly, but as near as may be equal to them when united. This superior power has the advantage over the rest, of being entirely uniform, uncompounded, absolute in its orders, and certain in its measures. But in course of time, if by

raising the jealousy of the rest it ceases not to unite them against it, it cannot but fall; it exhausts itself, and is exposed to numberless unforeseen accidents from within, or may suddenly be overthrown by attacks from without. Besides, it spends itself to no purpose, and makes destructive efforts for a superiority, which gives it no real advantage, and exposes it to all manner of dishonour and danger. Of all states 'tis certainly the worst; and the more so, as it can never tend, in its most prosperous condition, but to pass into the former system, which we have already seen to be unjust and pernicious.

The third system is of a power inferior to another, but so that the inferior, united with the rest of Europe, constitutes the equilibrium against the superior, and the security of all the other lesser states. This system has its disadvantages and inconveniencies; but is less hazardous than the foregoing, as it is upon the defensive, is less liable to be exhausted, has allies, and is not usually,

usually, whilst in this state of inferiority, so inconsiderate and presuming, as to threaten the ruin of those which are superior. We almost constantly see, that in a little time the prevailing powers decline and begin to fall. Provided that this inferior state be wise, discreet, firm in its alliances, careful to give no umbrage to its allies, not to do any thing but by their advice for the common interest, it will find work for the superior, till at last it humbles it.

The fourth system, is of a power very nearly equal to another, with which it forms the equilibrium for the publick security. To be in this condition, without an inclination to depart from it, is the wisest and happiest state. You are the common arbiter; your neighbours are all your friends; at least, those who are not so, for that very reason become suspected by all the rest. You do nothing which does not seem done for your neighbours, as well as for your people. You grow stronger every day; and if, as in course of time
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it will almost infallibly happen, that by a wise government you shall come to see more forces within, and more alliances without, than the power has which is jealous of yours, you must then more firmly persist in that wise moderation, which confines you to support the equilibrium and the common security. You must always bear in mind the ills which large conquests bring upon a state, both from without and within; that they are without profit, and cannot be undertaken without great hazard; think, lastly, of the vanity, inutility, and short duration, of large empires, and of the ravages they occasion when they fall.

But as it is not to be expected, that a power superior to all the rest should continue long without abusing that superiority, a wise and a just Prince should never wish to leave his successors, who in all probability will be less discreet than himself, the continual and violent temptation of too plain a superiority. Even for the welfare of his successors
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and his people, he should confine himself to a kind of equality. It is true, there are two sorts of superiority; the one exterior, which consists in extent of territory, in fortified places, in open passages into the countries of his neighbours, &c. This serves only to lay temptations, as fatal to himself as to his neighbours, to raise hatred, jealousy, and leagues. The other is internal and solid, and consists in a more numerous people, well disciplined, and better exercised in tillage and necessary arts. This superiority is usually easy to be acquired, secure, sheltered from envy and leagues, and even more adapted than conquests and strong places to make a people invincible. This second sort of superiority cannot be too much sought after, nor the former too much avoided, which has only a false appearance of glory.

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A

SHORT ACCOUNT
OF THE
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Of the late

M. FRANC. DE SALIGNAC
DE LA MOTHE FENELON,
Preceptor to the Princes of FRANCE,
And afterwards
Archbishop and Duke of CAMBRAY,
Prince of the HOLY EMPIRE.

THE account we now lay before the publick, must be consider'd only as a very short abridgment. It will suffice, however, to give a just idea of the character and virtues of the Archbishop of Cambray. He was born at

at the castle of Fenelon in Perigord, on the 6th of August, 1651. He began his studies in the province and at the university of Cahors. He finish'd them at Paris, under the name of the Abbé de Fenelon. His uncle, the Marquis de Fenelon, superintended his education there. He was a man distinguish'd by a great degree of merit and virtue. During the youth of *Lewis XIV.* he was the principal person concern'd in the transactions that pass'd concerning duels. One single circumstance may enable us to pass a judgment of his character. In making his compliments to M. de Harlay, with whom he lived in great familiarity, upon his nomination to the Archbishoprick of Paris, he added to it this reflexion; *There is a considerable difference between the day wherein such a nomination draws upon you the compliments of the whole kingdom of France, and the day of your death, when you must give an account to God of your administration.*

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This uncle brought his nephew acquainted very early with a number of friends, who were persons of great weight in the world. They immediately found him to be a young man of extraordinary talents; and the idea they conceived of him gave the first rise to a reputation, which was in a short time to be advanced to the highest degree. He was no sooner entred into priests orders, than they confer'd upon him the superiority of the *Nouvelles-Catholiques*, and another community of females. His great talents for preaching were display'd in the sermons and discourses which this office gave him frequent occasion to make. Those of his sermons which have been preserved, and of which there is a collection printed, were composed at this time. We must also refer to the same time his *Dialogues upon Eloquence in general, and upon that of the Pulpit in particular*; which were not publish'd till after his death. The family having found the manuscript among his papers, written entirely

entirely with his own hand, caused them to be printed. There is in them a justness of taste, and a knowledge of the rules, which may serve as sure guides to judge of the compositions of the greatest masters of the art now in vogue. Preaching became afterwards so familiar to him, that he did not compose any more sermons. A very little preparation served him to form, in general, the plan of his discourse, and the order he design'd to observe in it; after which, he did no more than yield to the copiousness wherewith he abounded. It was an overflowing spring, which discharged itself upon his auditory; and his eloquence had the beautiful charm of reaching the heart to affect it, which is not ordinarily found in studied discourses. Whilst he was Bishop, he preach'd regularly during Lent in one of the churches in the city, and upon some solemn days in the Cathedral, without giving the same sermons over again the following year. The same subject was constantly handled with a different

different turn by a fruitful genius, which had no need at any time to copy itself. He visited every parish in his diocese, both in the towns and country, without exception, and accompanied his visitation with instructions to the people; but of so many sublime and sacred discourses there are now no remains, except what has been preserv'd in the hearts of his hearers. The dignity of the persons, to whom he ow'd this respect, oblig'd him however to set down in writing the sermon he preach'd at the consecration of the Elector of Cologne, Joseph Clement of Bavaria. Except this piece of Christian eloquence, from his custom of preaching without notes, he has left behind him no other performances of this nature, besides the sermons of his youth we have already mentioned. Their beauty, and the interesting manner wherein the truths of the gospel are there handled, do fully demonstrate to us what he was in his earlier age, both as a Christian, and an orator, and at
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the same time point out to us the great value of what we have lost.

It was also in the younger part of his life, that having contracted a strict friendship with a person of distinction, who had several daughters, he drew up for him, at his request, his *Treatise of the education of daughters*. This discourse, with another entituled, *The office of pastors*, were the first production of his pen that were made public. The rules he lays down for the education of daughters, and his manner of treating this subject, shew how thoroughly acquainted the author was with the heart of man, and the incomparable talent he had for the education of youth. In his treatise of the office of pastors, he lays down the same principles concerning the authority of the church which he ever afterwards maintain'd.

To these great abilities the young Abbé join'd a kind of piety, to which he had been strongly inclin'd from his infancy, and which consisted in such a disin-

a disinterestedness for himself, as to leave nothing to man, and ascribe all to God. Such principles did not permit him to pursue the common methods, which are practised by those who study to advance themselves in the world. Mr. de Harlay, at that time Archbishop of Paris, at first receiv'd him extremely well. But observing him not to be over-earnest in seeking his favour, he was offended at it, and said to him one day, *Sir, you have a mind to be forgotten, and you shall be so.* Providence, however, did not suffer it. K. Lewis XIV. having cast his eyes upon the Duke of Beauvilliers, whose great virtue was the example of the court, to make him governor to the princes his grandchildren; this nobleman, who was the same person for whom he had drawn up his treatise of the education of daughters, caus'd his friend to be chosen preceptor. The choice of the Abbé de Fenelon for this important office, procur'd a very remarkable testimony of his virtue and impartiality, as
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it was given by that very M. Bossuet, who was afterwards his persecutor. *Yesterday, Madam, I was wholly employ'd upon the happiness of the church and state; to-day I have had leisure to reflect with more attention upon your joy; which has given me a very sensible pleasure. Your father, my very good and deserving friend, was recall'd to my mind. I represented to myself how pleas'd he must be upon this occasion, in seeing the lustre of a virtue shine forth, which had conceal'd itself with so much care.—*

This letter was written by the Bishop to the March. de la Laval, the daughter of that uncle of the Abbé de Fenelon's we have already mention'd already. It was dated at Germigny, the country house of the bishops of Meaux, on the 9th of Aug. 1689.

The Abbé de Fenelon immediately enter'd upon his office of preceptor to the Duke of Burgundy, the eldest of the Princes he was appointed to instruct. No education had ever produc'd

produc'd so good an effect. France was just ready to reap the fruits of it, when an untimely death carried off the Prince, whom such an instruction, as had been hitherto without example in a royal palace, had so happily form'd for the felicity of the people. The large compass which the Abbé de Fenelon had taken into this instruction, led him to draw up those valuable pieces which are now left of him, and which one may always read without ever being weary. Wisdom there assumes all forms, in order to engage the heart of a young Prince to the pursuit of virtue. It lays successively before his eyes every particular of moment, that is supplied either by philosophy, the study of nature and its wonders, history, the poets or fable, and the different characters of the most renown'd persons both among the antients and moderns. And at the same time, as he thus instructs him in all that he ought to know, the incomparable master constantly directs the heart of his

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pupil to the love of a virtue, which refers all to the deity. With Telemachus, to use the expressions of the approbation of the most extraordinary of these compositions, *we learn an inviolable attachment to religion, both in prosperity and adversity; to love our parents and our country; to be kings, citizens, friends, or even slaves, if fate will have it so.—Too happy the nation, for whom this work may some day form a Telemachus and a Mentor!* Mentor, and the Prince, whom he had made a Telemachus, were then no more, when the approbator of the work expressed himself thus.

A Mentor could not live in the midst of a court, without being a spectacle there. The Abbé de Fenelon even became a favourite, but his favour was of an extraordinary nature. He was a favourite who never ask'd any thing either for himself, or for any of his friends. He made no other use of his credit, than to eradicate the notions which the corrupters of kings instil
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into them of their grandeur and their power. Six years had passed in this high favour, without his being thought of in the distributions which were daily made of ecclesiastical benefits. And indeed it is not easy, that any person should be thought of in such distributions, who takes no pains to push himself forwards, and joins practice with the precepts of a strict disinterestedness. The King however thought of him at last, and gave him a considerable abbey; and soon after nominated him to the archbishoprick of Cambray. The Abbé de Fenelon did not consent to accept of his great post, 'till after the King had told him, that as the course of education was near at an end, the deserving persons he had under him might supply his absence. Upon this he yielded to the King's pleasure, and gave back into his hands at the same time the abbey, which had been given him some months before. The King seem'd much surprized at it; he had not been accusom'd to find

such a degree of disinterestedness in his court; but the example was no other in the eyes of the person who gave it, than a common action, which did not deserve the commendation it receiv'd. A nephew, for whom he had a very great affection, and who is now the bishop of Xaintes, and another ^a Abbé, a friend whom he dearly lov'd, were the only two that were under him about the Princes. He took no pains to recommend either of them to the abbey he had quitted. They had both of them the same principles with himself, in being willing to leave all to the disposition of providence, without any intermixture of human industry. Three years after they became victims to their attachment for him, were driven from court, depriv'd of the salaries annex'd to their employment, without any benefice, or other advantage, in having attended nine years upon the Princes of France, except the

^a M. l'Abbé de Langeron.

honour of having been employ'd in their education; so strictly careful was he who could so easily have provided for them, during a favour which lasted so many years, to ask nothing either for himself, or for the persons that were dearest to him.

So pure a virtue was not to want the trial of adversity. The new archbishop found himself insensibly involv'd in the persecution which was reviv'd against a lady, whose prayer was brought under suspicion, and who had before been in trouble upon that account. A life of the greatest purity, the constant practice of every virtue from her infancy, and the most holy exercises of devotion, were not able to secure Madam Guion from the malice of those who declar'd against her. The little enlargement we are oblig'd to give here upon the story of this lady, will not appear misplac'd in an account which has no other object than the life of the Archbishop of Cambray. It would not be sufficient, in short, for a

man like him, the excellence of whose morals, in a time of the hottest persecution, his greatest enemies never ventur'd to call in question. It would not be enough, that those who have been most transported with fury against him in their most bitter invectives, should find themselves obliged, to prevent the indignation of the publick, to acknowledge, as they still do to this day, that in this respect he was always free from the least reproach. Neither would his memory be justified, if Madam Guion herself had given the least cause to doubt of the constant regularity of her conduct, if she had written nothing but extravagancies, and had no other merit than of submitting to confess her errors, if in reality she had maintained any. It would always be an unpardonable weakness in an archbishop to have esteem'd and suffer'd his best friends to have confided in a person of a suspicious conduct, and in whom nought else was to be seen but fanaticism. We should then
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be oblig'd to own frankly, that his veneration for her had been a blemish in his life. It is therefore requisite, that the publick should find here at least something, whereby to form an idea of that lady's character, of the elevation of her soul, of the true springs of the clamour that was raised against her, and of the purity of her life, which was confirm'd to the last by the testimonies and confessions of those who had taken the most pains to prove her guilty. Such as are desirous to make a more particular enquiry into this affair, need only consult the writings of those times; not excepting even those, which M. Bossuet, bishop of Meaux, publish'd under the odious title of *A relation concerning Quietism, &c.* of *Remarks, &c.* provided the answers are compar'd with them, and the prelate confronted with the different manners, in which he has both thought and express'd himself concerning that lady, at different conjunctures. 'Tis by this comparison, added to what has been

said upon this subject, in the life of Madam Guion, written by herself, that we may be able to obtain a thorough knowledge of the affair, and shew on which side truth and candour are most to be found.

The rage against this lady was furiously increased, when certain persons of distinction about the court, were found to place their confidence in her. The sudden change of life in these persons, who before had been very conversant in the world, appear'd to the directors, who were alarm'd with the good they did not do, to be no other than the effect of being dangerously seduc'd.

The clamour was already begun, when the Abbé de Fenelon was nominated to the archbishoprick of Cambray. He was brought acquainted with this lady. The natural prejudice against an extraordinary woman, who was become already suspected and persecuted upon that score, was chang'd into a singular veneration for her, as soon as he had examin'd

examin'd her, and convers'd with her himself. 'Twas a surprizing sight to the court, to see the archbishop indirectly attack'd, and tottering in the king's favour, by an attempt to reflect upon him the furious zeal which was express'd against a person, whom he did not disown, he had very much esteem'd, and still continued to esteem. And yet he never undertook to defend her, but contented himself with constantly refusing to join with those, who from the condemnation they had made of some of her writings proceeded to the most violent persecution of her person. When they press'd him to act farther against her, he made answer, that the errors they imputed to Madam Guion, could not be excus'd by the ignorance of her sex; that what they had charg'd her with teaching would have rais'd an horror in the grossest villager; that the imputation did not only relate to certain expressions of which she had not perceiv'd the consequences, but amounted to a diabolical design, which,

according to her accusers, was the soul of all that she had written; that he had often seen her, as all the world knew; that he had esteem'd her, and suffer'd her to enjoy the esteem of several eminent persons, whose reputation was dear to the church, and who confided in him; that tho' he had not thoroughly read at that time all her writings, yet he neither could, nor ought to be wholly ignorant of them; that he had known enough to think it his duty to examine her very strictly; that he had often done it, at a time when, having nothing to fear, she was more open with him, more free, and more dispos'd to express her natural sentiments; that he had oblig'd her to explain what she thought upon the matters in debate; he had requir'd her to explain the meaning of every one of the mystical terms she had used in her writings; and that he had always found the sense in which she understood them to be very innocent, and very catholick; that he had very narrowly observ'd

serv'd her practice, and the counsels she gave to the most ignorant and unwary persons, and had never discover'd the least footsteps of the hellish maxims that were ascrib'd to her. And how could he in conscience charge her with them, by authorizing, with an approbation, the defamations that were publish'd against her? He own'd that he did not comprehend the conduct of M. Bossuet. On the one hand, this prelate was inflam'd with indignation, if the impious system which he imputed to Madam Guion was ever so little call'd in question; on the other, he seem'd himself to have thought very differently of her. This lady had freely submitted herself to a preceding examination, which, on her part, had been quite voluntary. During the course of this examination, the bishop had writ him a long letter, wherein he had pointed out to him his objections to her prayer and experiences, minutely mentioning the several parti-

culars which offended him in her writings, for she had put all of them into his hands without the least reserve; and at the same time acknowledging, *That he could not disown, that he discern'd something in her which very much affected him; and this was* (he said) *that insatiable desire of crosses and reproaches, and the choice that God made for her of certain humiliations and sufferings, wherein his finger and his will seem'd to be express'd.* Is it usual to write thus of a person, whose writings after a thorough examination should have no other tendency than to promote irregularity, and the most extravagant fanaticism? For 'twas this that M. de Meaux pretended afterwards to discover in them, when he attempted to reproach M. de Cambray with the monstrous errors he imputed to his friend. During this examination of pure confidence, he had made extracts out of the MSS. which Madam Guion had put into his hands with so little reserve,

reserve, and especially out of the account of her life^a, which she had written out of pure obedience, and wherein her most secret dispositions were related with great ingenuity. These were the very extracts, which M. de Meaux had kept in his hands, and which in the heat of the dispute he was afterwards led to make use of by giving them odious and ridiculous turns, which without doubt he had not seen, *when he discern'd something in the lady that very much affected him.* The case was the same with the journies she had undertook. She return'd from them in 1686. In the first persecution rais'd against her, and which was soon after her return to Paris, she was taken into custody, and afterwards set at liberty in 1688, by the king's order, when

^a It was not till long afterwards, and only since the death of Madam Guion, which was in 1717, thirteen years after the decease of M. Bossuet, Bishop of Meaux, that this Life, written by herself, was made publick by an impression. What goes beyond the account of her first confinement, and her discharge from it in 1688, is a continuation of what M. de Meaux had in his hands.

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inform'd of her innocence. The affair had been publick. This detention, the artifices made use of to bring it upon her, the journies which had preceded it, their motives, the great number of souls which had been drawn over to piety through her means, and what she was to suffer from men; all this was describ'd at large, in the MS. of her life, which she had put into the hands of M. de Meaux, and which he had read when he wrote the letter to him, wherein he told him, that *he could not disown but that he discern'd something in her which very much affected him.* This letter was written in March 1694, that is, several years after her return from all her travels, and her first persecution which was over in 1688. 'Twas six years after all this, that M. Bossuet acknowledg'd *the express finger of God* in all that she had to suffer, *and the choice that he made of certain crosses and humiliations for her*; and that he discern'd nothing more in those crosses and humiliations *than the insatiable desire she had*

bad of them, wherewith he was edified. At the same time he had given her the communion with his own hand, and had allow'd her the daily use of the sacraments, in his own diocese. Lastly, it was after having detain'd her six months at Meaux, whither she had voluntarily retir'd, in order to undergo a more strict examination, that he suffer'd her to depart thence with a full attestation, bearing date in the month of July 1695, without requiring any act from her, whereby she formally retracted any error whatsoever. In this attestation the bishop said, that he had continued her in the participation of the sacraments, wherein he had found her; declaring, that he had not found her in any sort involv'd in the abominations of Molinos, or any other condemn'd opinions, and that he had not meant to imply it in the mention he had made thereof in his ordinance of the 16th of April 1695. This ordinance, which he recall'd, was that which contain'd the condemnation of two small books of Madam Guion's,

on's, that were the only ones then printed. M. Bossuet had requir'd of her an act of submission to this censure; he had even dictated the terms of it to her, and made her say, that *she had never maintain'd any of the errors mentioned in the said pastoral letter, having always intended to write in a catholick sense, not imagining then that any other could have been put upon her words.* The superior of the monastery of Meaux, had on her side likewise given her another attestation, sign'd by herself and the principal persons of her community, wherein they certified, that *Madam Guion having resided six months in their house, by the order and permission of the Bishop of Meaux, their illustrious prelate and lord, she had not given them the least pain or trouble during her residence there, but very considerable edification—as they had observ'd in all her conduct, and in in all her words, great regularity, simplicity, sincerity, humility, mortification, Christian patience and gentleness, with a true devotion*

votion and regard for every thing that is of faith,—and that if the said lady was dispos'd to make choice of their house wherein to spend the rest of her days in retirement, their community should esteem it as a favour and satisfaction^b. This attesta-

^b There are here suppress'd only a few lines of the attestation, which are of no importance to the subject it treats of. F. Dom Toussaints du Plessis, a Benedictin, has given it entire in his History of the Church of Meaux, printed at Paris in 1731, where it may be seen. He has been equally just as to the other attestation given by M. Bossuet himself, as also in freely owning, that this prelate, going immediately after to Versailles, seem'd to repent of his having given in, and tried in vain, some few days after, to get it back into his hands, and substitute a different one instead of it. Certain writers, who value not their being unfaithful when 'tis their business to impose, and who have been fully sensible of the weight of this circumstance related by the writer of the History of Meaux, have endeavour'd to give a different turn to it, and indirectly to destroy the known truth of the fact, in a printed piece, which they have dispersed as the genuine text of the journal of a man, who had been dead twenty years before; wherein they have so disposed what we have here related concerning these two attestations, that any one who should read it without mistrusting their designs to disguise the truth, would be apt to believe, that the second attestation, which M. de Meaux attempted to substitute in the place of the other, had been given before it, and upon another occasion. We

attestation, like that of the bishop's, was drawn up in the month of July, 1695, and differs only in the date of a few days.

This was what passed at Meaux after upwards of a year's examination, and eight years after Madam Guion's return from all her travels, which were so well known to M. Bossuet. Whence comes it, said the Archbishop of Cambray, that so great remissness preceded so much rigour? For his own part, he had never found any other than a candid and docible disposition in the lady, so as to be always ready to submit to others the judgment of her own experiences,

We must not therefore be surprized, that the Benedictin's candour in this point, as also in some other passages, has been judged insupportable by men of this character; notwithstanding that in other places he has thought fit to make M. Bossuet the principal hero of his history, and upon this principle to soften abundance of particulars relating to the difference between him and the Archbishop of Cambray, and to pass over others in silence. This conduct could not secure him from the rage of these people, who have fallen furiously upon him, because the respect he bore to truth had prevailed on him not to be over-partial in the account he gave of this famous quarrel.

riences, and even to condemn them if disapproved by them ; for which reason he could not in conscience join with her accusers. He farther added, “ the
“ Bishops who condemn her, have done
“ it by writings which they have published ; they have since confined her,
“ and loaded her with ignominy ; I have
“ never said one single word either to
“ justify or excuse her, or to alleviate her
“ present condition ; and is not that going a great way, considering all that
“ I know ? The least I can do to an unfortunate person, whose conversation
“ was always edifying to me, is to keep
“ silence whilst others condemn her.”
But this silence was not sufficient for those who wanted of him a publick approbation, which might serve to justify their censures against her writings, and their severity towards her person. His constant refusal provoked them, and became an occasion of their falling upon himself. It was already seen, by their manner of proceeding against Madam Guion, that he was rather the object they

they aim'd at than herself. To stop the mouths of all who sought to render him suspected of illusion, he determin'd to publish a book, wherein, without taking any notice as before of what concern'd Madam Guion, he applied himself solely to distinguish the true spirituality from the false. The publication of this book, wherein the author laid open his sentiments very clearly, cut off all pretext of including him in an affair, with which he could have nothing farther to do, unless there were some objections to be made to his book. And this chanced to be the case. All the expressions in it were hardly interpreted, that they might have something to find fault with. The inclination of mankind, who are always disposed to grow tired of a virtue incapable of swerving from the truth, was favourable to those who imputed dangerous sentiments to the preceptor of the Princes of France. The King saw a Bishop of the age and reputation of M. Bossuet in the posture of a penitent
begging

begging pardon of him for not having sooner acquainted him with the fanaticism of his brother Bishop. The non-compliance of the accused Archbishop, who refused to abandon his book, was represented as a proof of his obstinacy in the errors they imputed to him. Upon which he was disgraced. They could not, however, refuse him the liberty of appealing to the judgment of the Pope his superior. But at the same time he received orders to retire from court, from whence he departed, never more to return. “ Be
“ under no concern about me,” says he, in a letter to one of his friends,
“ the affair of my book is carried to
“ Rome. If I am mistaken, the au-
“ thority of the holy see will unde-
“ ceive me, which is what I seek for,
“ with an humble and resigned heart.
“ If I have express’d myself amiss, they
“ will correct my expressions. — If
“ the Pope condemns my book, if it
“ so please God, I will be the first to
“ condemn it, and to issue out an edict
“ to

“ to forbid the reading of it. — I am
“ going to Cambray, having sacrificed
“ to God, from the bottom of my
“ heart, all that I am capable of sacri-
“ ficing to him. Permit me to exhort
“ you to enter into the same spirit.
“ Nothing worldly or temporal has had
“ any share in what I have done for
“ the doctrine I have judg’d to be
“ true; nor have I omitted to lay be-
“ fore the Pope any of the reasons,
“ which may support that doctrine.
“ Enough has been done on my part;
“ it belongs to God to do the rest, if
“ it is his cause that I have defended.
“ Let us neither regard the designs of
“ men, nor the steps they take; ’tis
“ God alone that we should look up
“ to in all this. Let us be the children
“ of peace, and peace will rest upon
“ us; if it be bitter, it will be only
“ the more pure. Let us not marr the
“ the uprightness of our intentions by
“ any obstinacy, any passionate warmth,
“ any human industry, any over-ear-
“ nest desire to justify ourselves. Only
“ let

“ let us give an account of our faith,
“ let us correct ourselves if we have
“ need of it, and let us bear correction
“ patiently, even tho’ we should not
“ deserve it. As to you, Sir, your part
“ in the affair is silence, submission, and
“ prayer. Pray for me, upon so pres-
“ sing an occasion. Pray for the Church,
“ which suffers these scandals. — Per-
“ fection is become suspected; so much
“ was not required to divert remiss and
“ conceited Christians from it. Disin-
“ terested love seems a source of illu-
“ sion and abominable impiety. Chri-
“ stians, under a pretext of security
“ and caution, have been accustomed
“ to seek God only through motives
“ of self-interest and happiness. Souls,
“ which have made the greatest pro-
“ ficiencies, are forbidden to serve God
“ through the motive, by which it has
“ hitherto been wish’d, that even sin-
“ ners should return from their wick-
“ ed ways, I mean, the goodness of
“ God infinitely amiable. I know the
“ terms of *pure love* and *abandoning* are
“ abused;

“ abused ; I know that hypocrites, un-
“ der such specious names, subvert the
“ Gospel. But pure love is, notwith-
“ standing, no less the perfection of
“ Christianity ; and 'tis the worst re-
“ medy that can be, to endeavour to
“ abolish what is perfect, only to hin-
“ der it from being abused. God can
“ better provide in this case, than men.
“ Let us humble ourselves, and keep
“ silence ; and instead of reasoning up-
“ on prayer, let us take care that we
“ pray. 'Tis thus that we defend our-
“ selves ; 'tis in silence that our strength
“ will lie.”

With such dispositions M. de Cambray thought only of waiting peaceably for the judgment of Rome upon his book ; but those who had begun to prosecute him, did not judge it convenient to act in the same manner. He found himself violently attack'd by three bishops at once, who were the same that had publish'd their censures upon the small printed books of Madam Guion. The attack was too violent

olent to allow him to keep silence; it was a duty owing to himself, owing to the defence of his cause at Rome, not to countenance the reproaches of his adversaries by his silence. But he constantly confined himself to a defence abounding with moderation, and to such explications of his sentiments, as justified his doctrine.

M. Bossuet had suffered himself to be carried so far in the heat of the dispute, that he saw himself abandoned in an essential point by almost all the divines of the school, and particularly by the Bishop of Chartres himself, tho' otherwise united in interest with him in this quarrel. They found that M. Bossuet, in order the better to establish hope, had destroyed charity. M. de Cambray was advised to make a diversion, by attacking the books of his principal adversary at Rome, as the latter had fallen upon his. The pious Archbishop made answer, that he had wrote his book merely out of the necessity they had laid him under of distinguishing-

stinguishing the true spirituality from the false, and to shew how far he was, by defending the one, from countenancing the other; but that he too much lamented the scandal of the dispute under which the church groan'd, to have any inclination to perpetuate it by recriminating against his brother.

In the mean time, the writings both for and against the book of the Maxims were multiplied. Those of the Archbishop were so drawn up, as to make his adversaries repent that they had laid him under a necessity of publishing his defences. They did him, by this means, contrary to their expectation, a considerable service. We shall see, in the following letter, of the month of May 1698, the answer he gave to M. Brisacier of the foreign missions, who had wrote to him after the publication of the first of his defences, in aggravation of the extremities to which the matter was reduced by them.

“ Sir,

“ Sir, It was unwillingly, and under
“ extreme necessity, that I wrote to
“ defend my faith, when violently at-
“ tacked. I delayed the affair at Rome
“ for two months, refusing constantly
“ to print my defences, and satisfying
“ myself with sending them thither in
“ manuscript. At last I was informed,
“ that it was usual at the tribunal of
“ the Holy Office, to print the pro-
“ ductions; that my manuscripts could
“ be neither so legible, nor so correct,
“ as the judgment in so nice and im-
“ portant an affair required; that they
“ must be in the hands of a great num-
“ ber of people, and communicated to
“ my adversaries; and that thus it
“ would be impossible to keep them
“ secret; and that, lastly, my answers
“ ought to be as publick as the accu-
“ sations. I then yielded to the neces-
“ sity of printing them; but I was so
“ averse to expose this scene to the
“ publick, that my printed tracts were
“ sent to Rome above six weeks before
“ I could resolve to publish them in
F 2 “ France.

“ France. When they were publish’d
“ at Rome, and I found that my ad-
“ versaries posted up and dispersed their
“ performances against me in every part
“ of my diocese, I thought it then my
“ duty not to be reserv’d in my own
“ vindication, nor to suffer myself to
“ be defamed in the midst of my own
“ flock.

“ As to the manner in which I have
“ wrote them, I may be mistaken, and
“ herein submit to the reader’s judg-
“ ment ; but as, in my own opi-
“ nion, I was neither influenced by
“ passion or resentment, whilst I was
“ writing them, so I think I have not
“ expressed any indecent warmth in a-
“ ny of them. I took great care to sup-
“ press whatever did not appear to me
“ essential to my cause. I have behaved
“ respectfully to the persons who have
“ treated me otherwise ; but I could
“ not avoid taking notice of some par-
“ ticulars, which, against my inclina-
“ tion, reflected upon them, as they were
“ matters of importance, either to the
“ doctrine,

“ doctrine, or to the trial. If there is
“ any passage, wherein my cause is
“ not concern’d, and which offends
“ against either truth or charity, or the
“ respect which is due to my brethren,
“ I will make them a publick repara-
“ tion, without requiring the like from
“ them, tho’ manifestly due to me, for
“ the injurious and abusive treatment
“ they have given me in their writ-
“ ings.

“ Let but any one compare, with-
“ out prejudice, their words with mine.
“ Their expressions are all artful, haugh-
“ ty, and insulting; their very writings,
“ which they would have pass for mild
“ ones, are full of ingenious turns to
“ blacken me, under a shew of civility
“ towards me. For my part, I have
“ confined myself to expose their so-
“ phistry, to restore the text of my
“ book, which they have misquoted,
“ and to confute the tenets, which de-
“ stroy charity, which confound the
“ order of nature with that of grace,
“ and which overthrow all medium

“ between supernatural virtues and vi-
“ cious concupiscence. All the lovers
“ of sound doctrine, who dread novel-
“ ties, have reason to be pleased with
“ me, for having opposed so dangerous
“ a conspiracy against the whole school.
“ Lastly, I have shewn, that my ad-
“ versaries have clearly understood, that
“ the interest which a man has in be-
“ ing saved is very different from the
“ salvation itself; and that they have
“ approved in other authors, what they
“ would have accounted impious in
“ my book. And now, Sir, are not
“ all these particulars essential to my
“ defence? Ought I to suppress them,
“ for fear of opening the eyes of the
“ publick in what concerns the con-
“ duct of my brethren? Ought I to
“ conceal the wrongs they have done
“ me, and suffer myself to be defamed
“ as a second Molinos, who is a plain
“ teacher of blasphemies? Had I not
“ frequently declared, that they would
“ at last compel me to vindicate my-
“ self in a manner which would retort
“ back

“ back upon my adversaries? Did
“ they vouchsafe to listen to me? Have
“ they not taken pains to carry matters
“ to extravagant lengths, in order to
“ render all accommodation impossible?
“ Have they not taken my patience for
“ a weakness without resource? Have
“ they not reduced me to such a state,
“ that I could not have vindicated my-
“ self from horrible impiety, and an in-
“ excusable despair, unless I had laid
“ open the injustice of the accusation
“ in the face of the whole church?
“ Was it right, to throw me into these
“ extremities against my own inclina-
“ tion, and then complain of them as
“ tho’ they had no share in them?
“ Any other person but myself, I dare
“ venture to say, Sir, would demand
“ a censure to be passed on M. de
“ Meaux’s books, and a publick repa-
“ ration for the grievous accusations
“ they have groundlessly brought against
“ me? The less I demand such a re-
“ paration, the more is it due to the
“ Church from my brethren. For my-
“ self,

“ self, I go no farther than to justify
“ my belief, and they must blame
“ themselves for having reduced me
“ to such a condition, that I cannot
“ prove myself not to be impious, but
“ by proving the odiousness of their
“ proceedings against me. If the truth
“ simply told, in its natural force, when
“ delivered with mildness, with re-
“ spect, and under the most pressing
“ necessity that ever a bishop was laid,
“ shall offend the nice ears of those
“ who have plainly laid him under that
“ necessity, what can be said to 'em?

“ When they shall be disposed to
“ keep silence, I shall also gladly keep
“ it; for in the midst of these wordy
“ wars, I breathe nought but peace,
“ and a conclusion of the scandal. But
“ the more they write, the more ob-
“ liged I shall be to prove clearly their
“ injurious treatment, which I could
“ wish it were in my power to conceal.
“ If, after having wrote so much, they
“ can only repeat what has been al-
“ ready said, they will do no harm to
“ their

“ their cause by being silent hereafter.
“ According to rule, Sir, as you know,
“ the accusers who have been the first
“ to speak, should be also the first to
“ hold their tongues. If, on the other
“ hand, they have any new proofs to
“ urge, or any new turns to give to
“ the old ones they have already pro-
“ duced, it is but just, that I should
“ be allowed time to make a reply to
“ them. The accused ought to speak
“ last, especially when he is a Bishop,
“ whom they would convict of impi-
“ ety in the face of the whole church.
“ It may be seen by the dispatch, where-
“ with I have already answered the
“ principal points in the last volume of
“ M. de Meaux, how little disposed I
“ am, either to perplex the question,
“ or prolong the dispute. I hope, by
“ God’s assistance, that my adversaries
“ will advance nothing so specious, ei-
“ ther in point of doctrine or fact, as
“ not to be confuted by me upon very
“ good reasons. For my part, what-
“ ever happens, I more than ever sub-

“ mit all my works to the holy see,
“ with a docility without reserve, and
“ without distinction of fact and right.
“ I wish those who have wrote against
“ me were as submissive, and as tract-
“ able, with respect to the tenets which
“ they have advanced. Judge, Sir, by
“ the freedom wherewith I answer you,
“ how much I honour you, and with
“ what respect I receive your advice
“ concerning the temper and patience
“ I stand in need of. Pray to God, that
“ he would grant them me, I beg of
“ you, you and M. Tiberge, to whom
“ I send my respects, and believe me
“ to be, with the sincerest regard, &c.”

The affair lasted near two years at Rome. His adversaries were supported with all the credit, that their situation in France could give them. And they made use of it with so much the less reserve, as they were provok'd to see the Archbishop, though in disgrace, make no abatement of his resolution in the defence of his cause; that not only the publick was inclin'd to favour the
perfe-

persecuted side, but that there were also divided sentiments at Rome concerning the book they had so highly traduc'd. Of ten examiners, that were chosen to deliberate concerning it, there were five who declar'd in favour of it; and amongst these some persons of the greatest character and distinction, who have been since honoured with the purple^a. They had then recourse to a blow, which was judg'd necessary to let them see at Rome, how much the court of France, which openly solicited the condemnation of the book, had the affair at heart. They prevail'd on the King to dismiss the Abbé de Beaumont, the Archbishop of Cambray's nephew^b, the Abbé de Langeron, his

^a Rodolvich, Archbishop of Chiatti, and father Gabriellis, a monk of the order of S. Bernard, and whose name is sometimes written Gabriellio, were of the number of those five consulters, who in the congregations constantly persisted in defending the book and the propositions which had been extracted from it. They were both since made Cardinals.

^b His sister's son. He is at present bishop of Xaintes.

very old friend, and Mess. Du Puy and De l'Echelle, whose attachment to him had remain'd firm notwithstanding his disgrace and the danger of their being involv'd in it, from their attendance on the Princes his grandchildren. They dispos'd of the Archbishop's apartment at Versailles, which till this time had not been done; and both himself, and those who were dismissed upon this occasion, were struck off from the state-list, and denied the salaries which were usually given to such persons during life, as had been honoured with any share in the education of the Princes of France. The same treatment would have farther extended to some others of the most valuable persons about the court, if the sollicitors of this affair had found credit enough to have carried it to the utmost lengths that they desir'd. Nothing can enable us to form a better judgment of the temper which the Archbishop of Cambray maintain'd in the midst of so violent a storm, than the following letter, which

which he wrote to the Duke of Beauvilliers, at the time when it rag'd most furiously against him.

“ I cannot avoid telling you, my
“ good Duke, what I have at my heart.
“ Yesterday I spent the day, which
“ was the feast of St. Lewis, in devo-
“ tion and prayer for the King. If
“ my prayers were good, he will be
“ sensible of it, for I pray'd very hear-
“ tily. I did not ask for him any tem-
“ poral prosperity; for of that he has
“ enough. I only begg'd that he might
“ make a good use of it, and that,
“ amidst such great success, he might
“ be as humble, as tho' he had un-
“ dergone some deep humiliation. I
“ wish'd he might be not only the fa-
“ ther of his people, but withal the
“ arbiter of his neighbours, the mode-
“ rator of all Europe, so as to secure the
“ tranquillity of it, and lastly, the pro-
“ tector of the church. I begg'd that
“ he might not only go on to fear God
“ and respect religion, but that he might
“ also love God, and feel how easy
“ and

“ and light his yoke is to those who
“ bear it less through fear than love.
“ I never found in myself a greater
“ degree of zeal, or, if I may venture
“ to use the expression, of affection to
“ his person. Though I am full of ac-
“ knowledgment, it was not the good
“ he has done me that then mov’d
“ me. Far from being under any un-
“ easiness at my present situation, I
“ would have offer’d myself with joy
“ to God, to merit the sanctification
“ of the King. I even considered his
“ zeal against my book as a commen-
“ dable effect of his religion, and his
“ just abhorrence of whatever has to
“ him the appearance of novelty. I
“ look’d upon him as an object deser-
“ ving of the favour of God. I call’d
“ to mind his education without solid
“ instruction, the flatteries which have
“ surrounded him, the snares laid for
“ him in his youth, the profane coun-
“ sels that were given him, the distrust
“ that was with so much pains instill’d
“ into him, against the excesses of cer-
“ tain

“tain professors of devotion, and the
“artifice of others; and lastly, the pe-
“rils of greatness, and such a multi-
“plicity of nice affairs. I own, that
“with all these things in view, not-
“withstanding the great respect that is
“due to him, I had great compas-
“sion for a soul so much expos’d. I
“judg’d his case deserv’d to be la-
“mented, and I wish’d him a more
“plentiful degree of mercy to support
“him in so formidable a state of prof-
“perity. I heartily pray’d S. Lewis
“to obtain for his grandson the grace
“to imitate his virtues. I represented
“his majesty to myself, as humble,
“confederate, wean’d from all earthly
“enjoyments, thoroughly possess’d with
“the love of God, and placing his
“consolation in the hope of a glory
“and crown infinitely more desir’d
“than his own; in a word, I represent-
“ed him to myself as another St. Lewis.
“In all this I had not, as I appre-
“hend, the least interested view; for
“I was dispos’d to remain all my life
depriv’d

“depriv’d of the comfort of seeing his
“majesty in this state, provided he
“was in it. I would have consented
“to a perpetual disgrace, provided I
“knew that the King was entirely af-
“ter God’s own heart. I only desire
“he may have solid virtues, and such
“as are suitable to the duties of his
“station. Thus, my good duke, I
“yesterday employ’d my festival. I
“pray’d also most heartily for our
“young prince, for whose salvation I
“would give up my life with joy.
“Lastly, I pray’d for the principal
“persons who are about the King,
“and wish’d you all the renewal of
“grace in the difficult times wherein
“you live. For my own part, I am
“at peace, in the midst of almost
“continual sufferings. By casting scan-
“dal upon me, they shall not, by
“God’s will, exasperate me, neither
“shall they discourage me; they will
“not make me an heretick, by saying
“that I am one. I have a greater ab-
“horrence of novelty, than those who
seem

“ seem so much to start at it. I am
“ more firmly attach’d to the church. I
“ thank God, I breathe nothing but
“ sincerity, and submission without re-
“ serve. After laying my reasons before
“ the pope, my conscience will be dis-
“ charg’d, and I shall have nothing
“ more to do than to be silent and obey.
“ They shall never see me, as some
“ others have done, seek for distincti-
“ ons to elude the censures of Rome.
“ There would have been no occasion
“ to have gone thither, if the affair
“ had been carried on with that equi-
“ ty, fair dealing, and Christian cha-
“ rity, which they owed to their bro-
“ ther. I pray God to undeceive me,
“ if I am under a mistake, and if I
“ am not, that he will open the eyes
“ of those who have confided too much
“ in passionate persons.”

The condemnation of the book, so powerfully solicited at Rome, came at last; not indeed as the archbishop’s adversaries requir’d, with the qualifications which Rome reserves for the books

books she finds to be heretical; but such however, as made them to triumph in the humiliation of the author. He experienc'd upon this occasion, how vain is the dependance upon human prudence and policy, which the purest virtue in time can hardly escape some small degree of in a court, and which had led him so far to consult his own interest as to decline the taking any part in the cause of his friend. This wisdom did not prevent the storm, which was first raised against her, from falling upon him, against whom they intended it, nor from involving him at last in a disgrace which he at first apprehended he might have avoided. It even so fell out, that the little books of Madam Guion, about which the noise first was made, and which nobody undertook to defend against the bishops who had censur'd them, continued in the state they were, whilst the judgment of Rome regarded only the book of the archbishop of Cambray. They could not
however

however, prevail upon the Holy See to include the pieces he wrote in his vindication within the condemnation. They urg'd, in vain, that the author had himself declar'd in his defences, that if his book was understood according to the sense which his adversaries put upon it, and the consequences they drew from it, it would be from beginning to end impious, sacrilegious, and heretical; that the not assigning any of those qualifications to the book and propositions condemn'd, which himself had pronounc'd, and at the same time the not comprehending his defences in the condemnation, was visibly charging his adversaries with having proceeded too far in their imputations against him; notwithstanding Rome persisted in her resolution to pronounce no judgment against what the archbishop had urged in the course of the dispute, either in his own vindication, or in the explanation of his doctrine. They even debated about terminating the contest only by making canons

nons, which should explain what was to be held with relation to the matter contested. This was what the Pope was very much inclined to, with a considerable part of the Roman church; but upon the sight of this project, they made so loud a clamour about the necessity of satisfying France, which demanded a judgment, that the design of ending the affair by the publication of the projected canons fell to the ground. As to the Archbishop, as soon as he knew that Rome had spoke, he gave himself wholly up to finish his sacrifice by the most absolute submission. "What you send me word you have done in obedience to the Pope by parting with my book," says he, in a letter to the same Duke de Beauvilliers his friend^a, "is very edifying to me, and by no means surprizing;

^a This letter and the foregoing were preserv'd among the papers of the late Duke de Beauvilliers, and sent by his widow the dowager Duchess of Beauvilliers to the Marquis de Fenelon, who has the originals written in the Archbishop of Cambray's own hand writing.

"I know

“ I know your attachment to a strict
“ obedience, nor could I expect any
“ other conduct from you. You know
“ very well, Sir, that I never valued
“ or countenanc’d any piety, which has
“ not this solid foundation. For my
“ part, I endeavour to bear my cross
“ with humility and patience. By
“ God’s grace I remain in peace, in
“ the midst of sorrow and bitterness.
“ Amidst so many troubles I have one
“ consolation, of little consequence in
“ the eyes of the world, but a solid
“ comfort to those who seek God with
“ sincerity, and that is, my conduct is
“ entirely fix’d, nor have I any thing
“ more to deliberate upon; all that is
“ left for me to do is, to submit and
“ be silent; and this is what I have
“ ever desir’d. My only business now
“ is to settle the terms of my submis-
“ sion; the shortest, the most simple,
“ the most absolute, and the most re-
“ mote from all restriction, are such
“ as please me the best; my conscience
“ is discharg’d in that of my superiour.
“ In

“ In all this, far from considering it
“ as brought upon me by my adver-
“ saries, I look not on any man ; I see
“ only the hand of God, and am con-
“ tent with what he does. I am
“ sometimes tempted to smile at the
“ apprehensions which some zealous
“ persons express of me, that possibly
“ I may not be able to resolve upon a
“ submission. Sometimes I am impor-
“ tun’d with long letters of exhortati-
“ on advising me to submit, and telling
“ me how glorious such an humilia-
“ tion will be, and what an heroic ac-
“ tion I shall do by it. This indeed is
“ somewhat teasing, and I am tempted
“ to say within myself, What is it then
“ that I have done to these people,
“ that they should think I shall find so
“ much difficulty in preferring the au-
“ thority of the Holy See to my own
“ weak understanding, and the peace
“ of the church to my book ? Yet I
“ see plainly, they have reason to sup-
“ pose that I have a great deal of im-
“ perfection and unwillingness to do
“ an

“ an act of humiliation. And thus I
“ pardon them very freely, and even
“ go so far as to thank them for their
“ fears and exhortations. As to diffi-
“ culty, in an act of full and absolute
“ submission, I must frankly own to
“ you, that I find none. The act was
“ drawn up the day after I receiv’d
“ the news, but I thought it my duty
“ to suspend the execution of it, till
“ such time as I knew how to proceed
“ in form. Bulls are not acknow-
“ ledged in France till after they are
“ passed in parliament. I know not
“ whether the same form is to be ob-
“ serv’d in a brief, which contains a
“ doctrinal judgment against an Arch-
“ bishop. In doubt of this, I suspend
“ my mandate; for no one, whatever
“ they may say, is a more zealous
“ Frenchman than myself. As soon
“ as I know the rule, my act shall
“ appear. Be pleas’d to take notice,
“ Sir, I have not receiv’d the judgment
“ of the Pope, either from Rome, or
“ from the Nuncio. But indeed, I
“ will

“ will not lose a moment, as soon as
“ I shall be assur’d that I do not trans-
“ gress the usages of France. I have
“ no consolation but in obedience ; and
“ if they had known my sentiments in
“ this respect, they would never have
“ had the vain alarms they have suffer’d
“ themselves to fall into.”

“ As to the Bishop of Meaux, I own
“ it is impossible for me to conceive how
“ he could tell you, That he SHOULD
“ THINK HIMSELF BLAMEABLE
“ BOTH IN THE SIGHT OF GOD
“ AND MAN, IF HE IN THE LEAST
“ DOUBTED OF THE INTEGRITY OF
“ MY HEART, AND THE SINCERI-
“ TY OF MY SUBMISSION. Has he
“ forgot the frightful double dealing,
“ he has so often charg’d me with in
“ the face of the whole church, even
“ so lately as in the last printed piece
“ he publish’d against me? Fifteen
“ days cannot have chang’d me into an
“ honest man. However, the mean-
“ ing of his words is not our present
“ business, and I leave that matter to
“ be

" be settled between God and himself.
 " He and I now have no longer any
 " contention. I very sincerely pray
 " for him, and wish him all that may
 " be wish'd for those whom we love
 " according to God." This letter was
 written the 29th of March 1699, and
 was followed on the 9th of April with
 the publication of the Archbishop's
 mandate^a.

'Twas

^a The mandate was drawn up in the following
 terms. " We owe ourselves to you without reserve,
 " my very dear brethren, since we are no longer our
 " own, but the flocks which has been committed to
 " us, *Nos autem servos vestros per Jesum*. 'Tis in
 " this disposition, that we think ourselves obliged
 " here to open our heart to you, and continue to
 " communicate to you what concerns us relating to
 " the book entitled, *The Maxims of the Saints*. In
 " short, our holy father the Pope hath condemn'd
 " this book, with the three and twenty propositions
 " extract'd out of it, by a brief bearing date the 12th
 " of March, which is now dispers'd abroad, and
 " which you have already seen.

" We adhere to this brief, my very dear brethren,
 " as well with respect to the text of the book, as to
 " the 23 propositions, precisely in the same, and
 " with the same qualifications, simply, absolutely,
 " and without shadow of restriction. Thus we con-
 " demn both the book and the 23 propositions,

G

" precisely

'Twas with an heart full of the noble simplicity, and disposition to comply without weakness, which are so

“ precisely in the same form, and with the same qualifications, simply, absolutely, and without any restriction. Farther, we forbid, under the same penalty, all the faithful of this diocese, to read and keep the said book. We would comfort ourselves, my very dear brethren, in our humiliation, provided the ministry of the word, which we have receiv'd of the Lord for your sanctification, be not weaken'd thereby, and that notwithstanding the humiliation of the pastor, the flock may grow in grace in the sight of God. 'Tis therefore with all our heart, that we exhort you to a sincere submission, and a compliance without reserve, least you insensibly depart from the simplicity of obedience to the holy see, whereof we are desirous, by the assistance of God's grace, to set the example to the last moment of our life. May it please God, that my name may never be mention'd, but with this remembrance, that a pastor hath thought it his duty to be more compliant than the least sheep of his flock, and that he has set no bounds to his submission. May the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, my very dear brethren, the love of God, and the communion of the Holy Ghost, remain with you all. Amen. Given at Cambray, April 9, 1699.

The assemblies of bishops in each ecclesiastical province being afterwards held for the acceptation of the brief, the King gave his letters patents for the registering of it, which was done in the parliament of Paris on the 14th of August following.

visible

visible in this letter, that its generous author was able, without departing from the integrity of his submission, to refuse going farther than the express judgment of the holy see, which had pronounced no sentence against the books he had written in his own vindication. They determin'd however in France not to leave him without mortification upon that score. In the provincial assemblies, which were held by the several Archbishops throughout the kingdom for the reception of the brief, there were not wanting certain bishops, who propos'd to offer a petition to the King, that he would be pleased to issue out an order for the suppression also of all that the author had written in its defence. And yet there were others, who declar'd that they could not approve the carrying matters so high against an Archbishop who deserv'd nothing but commendation from them; but these were the smaller number, and the suppression was ordered in France. The assembly of

the province of Cambray was not more favourable to their Archbishop. He stood in need of a resolution like his own, and all the presence of mind he was master of, to oppose in the assembly, which was held in his own palace, the suggestions that were made to turn his submission to the judgment of Rome into a retraction of all that he had urg'd in justification of his doctrine. One of the bishops in the assembly attempted to maintain, that the judgment pronounced against the book of Maxims, extended to the condemnation of the pieces which had been wrote in its defence. The Archbishop courageously caused the reasons to be inserted in the report of the assembly, which hindered him from acknowledging that consequence. Thus join'd he resolution with a boundless submission to the judgment of the head of the church. The same greatness of soul, which made him so firm, lead him likewise to yield without resistance to whatever was regular. He drew up
the

the conclusion, as president of the assembly, with the same tranquillity as if the affair had concern'd another person. The purport of it was, that the King should be desir'd to order the suppression of what he had written in his own defence. But tho' he thus discharged what the rules of the assembly requir'd from his ministry against himself, he remain'd unmoveable as to his own sentiments; he caused it to be inserted, that in concluding for this petition he acted only as president according to the plurality of voices, and *contrary to his own opinion*. He declar'd at the same time, that he should be as ready to give up his apologetical performances as the book itself, if the holy see found any defect in his submission. For such was the character of the piety, that restrain'd this vast genius, that it bid him to close his eyes upon all the glimmerings of human understanding, to seek truth only in the meanness, obedience, and simplicity of faith. This was the source

of that submission, which deserves only to be admir'd, as it gives glory to the divine principle, from whence it sprung. But the holy see, whose judgment was his rule, was so far from demanding more of him, that it found what he had already done highly deserving of its commendation.

The year following, there was held an assembly of the clergy of France, wherein the province of Cambray is not included. M. Bossuet, the bishop of Meaux, was above minding what the publick should think, when they saw him take pen in hand to give an account of his own quarrel, by virtue of a commission granted for that purpose. He chose rather to let them think what they pleased of a relation drawn up by the principal party himself, than to give up to another the office of penning the memorial which was to preserve, in the annals of the clergy, the remembrance of an affair, wherein it was so much for his own reputation, that posterity should see it in the light
which

which he put upon it. The archbishop of Cambray could not fail of being represented there as a man recover'd from error to truth. M. de Meaux there display'd at large the same monstrous opinions, which he had imputed to the Archbishop of Cambray during the course of the dispute; as if the latter had not shewn a hundred times, that he had attributed to him what he had never thought. At the same time he term'd the submission of his adversary to the judgment pronounc'd at Rome, *a sudden and exemplary change, which had surpriz'd, he said, the enemies of the church.* What had pass'd in the provincial assembly at Cambray, concerning the books written by the Archbishop in his own vindication, did not hinder him from speaking upon that foot of a submission, which he found at the same time to be *absolute, and without reserve.* This was visibly to destroy with one hand what he had rais'd with the other. How could the submission appear to

M. de Meaux to be *absolute* and *without reserve*, unless he tacitly own'd himself the purity of the doctrine that was largely explain'd in the said vindications, which the author had refus'd to censure as it was going beyond the judgment pronounc'd at Rome? But if this doctrine was pure, how blameable must M. Bossuet have thought himself for having so violently opposed it in the course of the dispute? How, lastly, could he reconcile to himself the representing the Archbishop of Cambray as suddenly chang'd, and calling his submission *absolute and without reserve*, when the Archbishop in his provincial assembly persisted in not giving up the doctrine contain'd in his defences, and himself, the bishop of Meaux, had always openly rejected the explications therein delivered? But M. Bossuet was desirous, that his own relation, inserted in the annals of the clergy of *France*, should serve there to canonize his conduct against one of his brethren, whom he had represented as a man unhappily

pily fallen into monstrous errors, from whence he was to be recover'd. To this end it was requisite to represent him as a man who had *surpriz'd the enemies of the church by a sudden change of principles*, though he had so lately declar'd in the verbal process of the provincial assembly, held in his own diocese for the reception of the brief, *that he could not acknowledge against his conscience, that he had ever believed any of the errors which had been charged upon him.* It was requisite to treat the submission of the Archbishop as an unexpected event, *which had surpriz'd the enemies of the church*; though he did no more than what he had continually declared he would do, as soon as the Pope should pass the sentence. It was requisite to join together in the same piece the condemnation of Molinos, which had passed in France, upon occasion of the little books and person of Madam Guion, and the mischief which had been renew'd *by an event which could not be too much deplor'd, the*

publication of the book which the Archbishop of Cambray had sent abroad into the world. So that, according to this relation of M. de Meaux, one would be apt to believe what those, who read only what he has written, do still imagine, that the whole affair was one and the same thing with the Quietism condemn'd in Molinos. M. Bossuet might well be master of the assembly, to be able so to misrepresent such recent facts. In the brief of condemnation pass'd at Rome there was no mention of Molinos, nor were the characters given to the book of Maxims, or to any of the propositions extracted from it, which could not have been spared, if there had been found in it any doctrine, deserving to be fulminated as an abominable heresy. M. de Meaux himself had declar'd five years before, as we have seen above in the attestation he had given to Madam Guion in July 1695, *that not finding her in any respect involv'd in the abominations of Molinos, or any other condemn'd*

denn'd opinions, he had not intended to comprehend her in the mention that had been made thereof by him in his ordinance of the 16th of April last. This attestation, and the other testimonies of esteem, which he had given himself to the virtue of that lady, and which he had suffered to be given her under his eyes in his own episcopal city, were notoriously known. He could not therefore avoid being a little upon his guard, when he was to speak of her again. For as to the abominations which were look'd upon as the consequences of her principles, they were never question'd, and by her own declaration were held by her in abhorrence. These very words are to be found in the relation inserted in the acts of the clergy of the year 1700, and concerning which we must always be mindful that they were penn'd by M. de Meaux. The following likewise are to be seen there concerning the first detention of that lady in 1688. A certain woman had composed the treatises entitled,

entitled, A short way, and A mystical interpretation of the Song of songs. The late Archbishop of Paris (Harlay) sent her into a monastery, where there were some proceedings against her, of which now no footsteps are to be found. From this confession the conclusion is easy to be drawn. For, in short, if any thing had resulted from these proceedings, besides an entire justification of Madam Guion, would they have been so far lost, as not to have had the least footsteps of them recoverable? They were made by the Archbishop's officers; and instead of being carried away from the archives of the Archbishoprick or its officiality, if any thing had appear'd besides the innocence of the person accused, it would have been the Archbishop's interest to have kept them there, to serve as a testimony against a lady, whom he had caused to be confin'd. When the persecution was renew'd against her, he would have been the first to publish a censure in October 1694, against the two
I little

little books of that lady. This was what he did not, even though he had kept her confin'd six years before, and though those two little books had been printed for some time. We cannot therefore imagine, that, with a dislike so ready to revive upon the first occasion, he would have suffer'd such a trial to have been lost, if any thing had occur'd in it to the lady's disadvantage. It was still less probable that this should have happen'd under the Pontificate which immediately follow'd. The new Archbishop had censur'd the two little books, in like manner as his predecessor, some few months only before his translation from the bishoprick of Chalons to the Archbishoprick of the capital. From that time Madam Guion had done nothing but pass from one prison to another, first shut up at Vincennes, after that in a nunnery at Vaugirard, and last of all in the Bastille, when matters run high against M. de Cambray, and they were minded publicly to turn against him the spectacle
of

of his friend confin'd in prison as a criminal. In the mean time she had been examined again and again, without any kind of pity, in order to find her guilty, could it possibly have been done. Can we imagine, that, if the proceedings against her during her first confinement in 1688 had contain'd any thing to her prejudice, they would not have been at least recover'd? 'Tis notwithstanding after all this, that M. Bossuet himself, writing in 1700 a relation, which was to preserve in the annals of the clergy an account of what concerned Madam Guion, is obliged to own, that the least footsteps of those proceedings were not left remaining; and acknowledges also, a few lines lower, *that as to the abominations which were look'd upon as the consequences of her principles, they were never question'd, and by her own declaration were held by her in abhorrence.* But could they be assur'd of the abhorrence that she said she held them in, if they had never been question'd? It appeared farther

ther by the same account, by the attestations which M. de Meaux had given her, by divers acts which they had requir'd of her, and wherewith they were satisfied, and by the preference of another's judgment to her own, which they had caused her to make with great simplicity, that she had been always very submissive in what related to her writings. Why then was she imprison'd, and continued to be kept in the Bastille, where she lay confin'd at the very time this assembly of the clergy was held in 1700. For it was not till about two years after, that she was at last set at liberty. At first they sent her home to her family, and not long after gave her leave to retire to Blois. The oblivion, wherein she lay there to the day of her death, and the retir'd life she led there for a great number of years, are fresh proofs, that if she had made a noise in the world, it was not through any inclination she had so to do. Affronts, imprisonments, reproaches, and the hatred of mankind,

to her always appear'd as favours. In this light she considered them, not only in speculation, but even at the time when most she suffer'd them. *That insatiable thirst after the roughest crosses,* which had edified M. Bossuet himself, though so much prejudiced against spirituality, made her free in the midst of chains; it chang'd the heaviness of her imprisonment in the Bastille into songs, wherein she chanted forth the happy fallies, which the transport of her love for her God inspired her with^a.

The

^aThe following hymns were at this time composed by her.

Sur l'Air : *Charmante Solitude.*

Charmante solitude,
Cachot, aimable Tour,
Où sans inquiétude
Je passe tout le jour!
Est-il tourment trop rude
Pour mon fidèle Amour?

Les maux sont mes délices;
Les douleurs, mes plaisirs;
Les plus affreux supplices,
Le but de mes desirs:
Et tous mes exercices,
L'Amour & les soupirs.

The Archbishop of Cambray saw from the remotest part of his diocese what they were continuing to do against him, and bore it in peace and silence. A writer who was grown famous amongst those of his party, F. Gerberon, offer'd

Je ne crains point la peine,
Quoique sans nul soutien ;
Etant assez certaine
Que ce mal est mon bien.
La Beauté souveraine
Veut l'Amour souverain.

Je souffre, & ma souffrance
Cause tout mon bonheur ;
Par sa douce présence,
Dieu consomme mon cœur :
Il est ma patience,
Ma force, & ma douceur.

Sur l'Air : Un tendre Engagement.

On me tient en prison, mon cher & divin Maître.
Soyez béni, j'y veux bien être,
Tant que vous m'y voulez souffrir.
Nul desir en mon cœur n'ose même paroître,
Si ce n'est pour vous obéir.

Je suis à vous, Seigneur, dès ma plus tendre enfance.
Je n'ai point cherché l'assistance,
Ni le secours des Potentats :
Dès-lors je mis en vous toute ma confiance,
Sans m'appuyer sur d'autres bras.

M'abandon-

fer'd to publish a discourse in justification of his faith. He ask'd only his consent, and that he would contribute to the expence of the impressiion. But to this he made answer, " As diligent
 " as I was to write in my own defence before the judgment of Rome,
 " so resolv'd am I since that judgment,
 " to be silent, to suffer in peace, and
 " give up my reputation to providence.

M'abandonneriez-vous au tems de ma vieillesse ?

Vous connoissez notre foiblesse,

Seigneur, à qui seul j'ai recours :

Mon cœur, déjà livré à l'ennui qui le presse,

Attend tout de votre secours.

Entouré d'Ennemis, que faut-il que je fasse ?

Je n'espère qu'en votre Grace :

Elle seule adoucit mes maux.

Que votre Volonté sur moi se satisfasse,

M'accablant de plus de travaux.

J'avois peine autrefois, voyant que l'Innocente,

Malgré sa ferme confiance,

Enduroit la nuit & le jour :

Mais depuis j'ai connu, que le poids de souffrance

Se mesure au poids de l'Amour.

L'Amour pur & parfait va plus loin qu'on ne pense :

On ne fait pas lorsqu'il commence,

Tout ce qu'il doit coûter un jour.

Mon cœur eût ignoré le prix de la souffrance,

Sil n'eût goûté le pur Amour.

" You

“ You have read without doubt my
“ two letters upon the twelve propo-
“ sitions, which several of the doctors
“ of Paris had judg’d worthy of cen-
“ sure. I suppose that you have also
“ read the collection of ^b three and
“ thirty propositions, which I endea-
“ vour’d to justify by the authorities
“ of

“ To understand what is here said of the three and thirty propositions, instead of the three and twenty only, which were inserted in the brief of condemnation, we must know, that the consulters of the holy office, who had been nominated to examine the book, being divided in their sentiments, insomuch that of ten, five were for the book, and five against it, they were oblig’d to agree upon a certain number of propositions in the book, wherein they should be unanimous, in order to make them the foundation of the question to be judg’d of. These propositions therefore being pitch’d upon by an uniform consent amongst themselves, tho’ otherwise divided in their different opinions concerning them, were deposited in the holy office to the number of thirty-eight, and afterwards taken from thence, to be laid before the congregation of Cardinals, with an order to the consulters to give their *votum* upon each of them. It was not till after they had been discuss’d in two and fifty congregations, wherein the five consulters who had declared for the book defended them all gradually against the five consultors who judg’d them proper to be condemn’d, that the motions being redoubled

“ of the saints. The true meaning
“ of what I intended to write is there
“ explain'd. These works, and what
“ else I have wrote in my own vindication,
“ have been seen at Rome, at
“ Paris, and in all other places. I

doubled for obtaining a censure of the book, and the thing itself at last resolv'd on, the extract of propositions was converted into the three and thirty mention'd in the brief of condemnation. It is easy to see wherein they differ from those which had been unanimously agreed on by the consulters, who had declared for and against the book, as the latter are inserted in the libel in form of a journal, already mention'd in the note at pag. 11. What was brought from Rome concerning the propositions debated in the congregations, and which took up several months, furnish'd the Archbishop of Cambray with an opportunity of making the collection that is here spoken of. In this he had reduc'd his book to three and thirty principal propositions; which, as we have shewn, are capable of being compar'd with the thirty eight that were debated between the consulters in the two and fifty congregations. In this collection every proposition was attended with the passages which the Archbishop had quoted in order to justify it by the authorities of the saints. This was the last of the pieces which he wrote in his own vindication. It was printed, spread abroad in France, and, like all the rest, carried to Rome; but did not get thither till after the condemnation of the book had been already pronounced.

“ have

“ have protested before God in all
“ these writings, that they have con-
“ tain'd the utmost of my belief, and
“ that I never intended to countenance
“ any of the errors which have been
“ imputed to me. Since the judgment
“ pass'd at Rome, I have repeated
“ the same solemn declaration in the
“ report of our provincial assembly,
“ which is no less public than the
“ reports of the other provinces, or
“ even than the acts of the general
“ assembly of the clergy of France.
“ After so many eclairsissements, what
“ farther can be added than useless re-
“ petitions? What duplicity is there in
“ this conduct? I had rather die than
“ defend, either directly, or indirectly,
“ a book which I have condemn'd
“ without restriction, and from the
“ bottom of my heart, in compliance
“ with the holy see. Whatever I
“ should write concerning my own
“ personal sense, setting aside the text
“ of the book, would be look'd upon
“ as a bye-method to rekindle the war,
“ and

“ and re-enter into the defence of my
“ work. It is neither just nor edify-
“ ing for an author to be perpetually
“ employing the church in his perso-
“ nal disputes, and chusing rather to
“ continue the trouble without end,
“ than bear his cross with humility.
“ When they hear not a bishop con-
“ cerning his own meaning, which he
“ has so often explain’d in writing,
“ to what purpose should he speak any
“ more? There is no longer for him
“ any edification to be given, or dig-
“ nity to sustain, but by a profound
“ silence. I know too well what
“ scandal the church suffers by such
“ disputes, to have any inclination to
“ renew them from a regard for my
“ own reputation. God will take care
“ of the honour of his minister, if he
“ deigns to make use of it for the be-
“ nefit of the ministry in this diocese.
“ I am even persuaded, that neutral
“ and equitable people are edified by
“ my silence, and do not doubt of my
“ honesty in the whole affair. No
“ treatise

“ treatise would persuade those who
“ would not be persuaded. And you
“ know very well, that there would
“ be a double-dealing, unworthy of a
“ Christian, in declining to write my-
“ self, and yet privately acting in con-
“ cert with another who should write
“ for me. Thus, I hope, you will nei-
“ ther be griev’d nor surpriz’d at the
“ resolution I have taken to have no
“ share, either directly or indirect-
“ ly, in a work of this nature.”

Thus ended, never to be resum’d,
the affair of a book which found no
longer any defender, because the au-
thor himself had sincerely given it up.
A rare example! which shews us what
the simplicity of obedience, and a com-
pliance without reserve, are capable of
doing for the peace of the church.

The readiness and simplicity of this
submission had surpriz’d the King.
They had prejudiced him, by repre-
senting the archbishop of Cambray as
a man of an uncomplying temper, who
would never submit. On the contrary
he

he saw, that if his resolution had been unmoveable in the defence of his cause, it was follow'd with the submission of a child, as soon as the head of the church had spoke. The remembrance of all the virtues which had made an impresson, recurr'd to his mind. And lastly, the inclination which the duke of Burgundy still retain'd towards his Mentor, and which did not escape the courtiers penetrations, open'd his eyes to discern what would be the event, and to foresee the confidence of his highness in the consequence. In this disposition of the court, means were not wanting to the Archbishop to have rais'd himself from his disgrace. It would have cost him no more than some step to shew he desir'd it, and was willing to owe it to the persons who had procur'd it for him. But his soul was in a situation, which resembled the happy tranquillity of mind, wherein his Telemachus represents Philocles in the isle of Samos, when he wanted an express declaration of heaven to draw him from

from the place of his banishment and restore him to Idomeneus. In the portrait of the virtuous Cretan his own character was very discernible, who had undesignedly describ'd himself there, without being then able to foresee, that a disgrace would soon throw him into the condition of finishing the resemblance. His virtues, during his residence at court had something of the austerity of Philocles, which indisposed the heart of Idomeneus towards him. What men, who do not well know themselves in perfection, are apt to look upon as the height of virtue, had been in the Archbishop of Cambray the effect of a natural disposition, which from a too eager pursuit after what was perfect, had contracted something of roughness and severity. It was this stiff part of virtue, which the hammer of adversity and humiliations was to mollify by an abatement. This change had been foretold to him, but it was not entirely effected till the latter end of his life. It was a strong
prodigious H and

and wonderful virtue, reduc'd to the simplicity of childhood, but a childhood divine, which, of a great man, had made him a man capable of being convers'd with by all the world, and at the same time the most amiable. Virtues, learning, a fine taste, talents, and a general knowledge, were in him only for the use of others. His mind, dead to vanity, was in conversation entirely given up to that of another. The man of every profession, or the proficient in every branch of knowledge, was quite easy in his company. He directed every one first to the subject he best understood; and then he disappear'd at once, seeming only to give an opportunity to others to produce out of their own stock the materials they were most able to furnish. By this means no body parted from him otherwise than well-pleased with himself. He had always enjoy'd in a great degree that eminent talent of making others set themselves off, and shew their capacities; but this excellency was

was H brought

brought to perfection by the easy disposition of an heart disengaged from every thing in the world, and which the hand of God had bow'd down by adversity to a state of pliability and docility, which had not even subsisted in his earlier days. This lowness, which was the prevailing virtue of his old age, occasioned a stranger, who had passed through Cambray out of a desire to see him, to let fall this memorable expression, *I have formerly seen, said he upon taking his leave, great men great; but I have now seen a great man little.* When he was advis'd to beware of the artifices of mankind, which he had so well known, and so oft experienced, he made answer, *Moriamur in simplicitate nostrâ.* The love of this simplicity had extinguish'd in him every thing besides; all the great qualities he possessed, which would have been so apt to have puff'd up another, were in his eyes no more than the unhappy reed, which had pierced the hand of

him who meant to have supported himself with it.

Jeune, j'étois trop sage,

Et voulois tout savoir.

Je n'ai plus en partage,

Que badinage ;

Et touche au dernier age,

Sans rien prévoir.

The unhappy divisions, which in 1713 ended in the famous constitution of Pope Clement XI. and which itself was follow'd by so many disputes, had begun to break out in France towards the close of the year 1703. The duty of his office did not permit the Archbishop of Cambray to continue silent amidst those agitations, which so nearly concern'd the doctrine of the church. Several volumes, which he publish'd during the course of those ten years, are a treasure to the church, from the preciseness, clearness, and strength of reasoning, wherewith the catholick doctrine

trine is there universally explain'd. We here again find, what was peculiar to him, so great a clearness of style in writing upon the most abstracted subjects, that his books may be read almost as currently as though they were merely historical.

The Cardinal de Noailles in his turn fell from the high favour, which, after having plac'd him in the see of the capital, had likewise procur'd for him the Cardinal's cap. The approbation he had given, whilst bishop of Châlons, to the *Moral Reflexions* of F. Quesnel, which it was intended to discountenance, became the occasion of the storm which was gathering against him. In the affair of the book of the *Maxims* he had been drawn away by the bishop of Meaux, who was now dead, and had join'd with him against M. de Cambray. Notwithstanding this circumstance, those who interested themselves in the troubles which were coming upon the Cardinal, and foresaw the consequence of them, did not fail

to cast their eyes upon M. de Fenelon. They knew very well, that he was a man whom the remembrance of past wrongs would have rather led to endeavour a return of good for evil, than to take an advantage of the present conjuncture. The Archbishop of Cambray found himself applied to in his exile by the Cardinal's friends, who sought to bring about a reconciliation between them. They judg'd that the return of such a man as he would be a matter of great consequence, as he would bring nothing with him but a sincere intention to make peace, and his capacity was sufficient to find out proper means to effect it. This was a tempting occasion to assume a character very grateful to self-love. But he replied, " I own, a man, who had any
" taste for business, would more easily accept of the proposals you have
" so long press'd me to comply with.
" But I have not so good an opinion of
" myself, as to presume that I am
" able to restore the peace to the
" church,

“ church, which you would have me
“ attempt. I have no inclination to
“ take so much upon me, as you
“ would have me. 'Tis the Cardinal
“ de Noailles who must restore peace
“ to the church. I am not in any se-
“ cret; but I dare venture to say, that
“ he will restore it, whenever he shall
“ be dispos'd to succeed in it. It is
“ already in his hands. I heartily wish
“ him the merit and glory of it, both
“ in the sight of God and men. I
“ should die content, in seeing him at
“ a distance bring this great work to an
“ happy conclusion.”

Whilst the Archbishop of Cambray was employ'd in his diocese in discharging the office of his ministry, and enjoy'd there the peace of a mind, which sets no value upon the world, the war, which France continued to maintain with great difficulties, drew near to the city where he resided. The neighbourhood of Cambray became the theatre of the last campaigns. In the midst of two immense armies, con-

sisting of the greatest forces of almost all Europe, and the most illustrious Commanders, he saw himself once more become a spectacle. The court of Versailles resounded all the winter with the accounts given of him, at their return, by the general officers and courtiers who had been in the army. They all agreed to publish the order of his household, and the magnificence which kept it open to all comers; his profusions for the succour of the sick and wounded, with whom he fill'd all his apartments; the sanctuary which whole villages found at the same time within the inclosure of his palace, whither they fled for refuge from the desolated country; the care he took of the poorest of those wretched people, who were no less the objects of his concern, than the persons of distinction, which his house was always full of. Amidst all this incumbrance he found means to leave all his guests to their own liberty, and to allow himself time withal for the discharge of all his occupations

pations, of what kind soever they were. Every one was admitted to interrupt him, without any hindrance to the carrying on of his business; so well he knew how to find time for every thing. To the charms of his conversation was join'd a polite and easy manner, that render'd him agreeable to the world, and which he knew wonderfully well how to unite to the strict observance of all the decorums that were due to his station. He enchanted the hearts of all the soldiers. What I here advance is not the vain declamation of a man who studies to set off the subject he is describing; the court and city are full of eminent witnesses to the truth of what I here report. Nor am I under any apprehension, that they should think what they then saw, admir'd and honour'd, in any respect here exaggerated.

This veneration was not confin'd to the French army alone. The knowledge of his writings, and particularly of his *Telemachus*, had wrought so

strong an impression in foreign countries, that the same sentiments were entertained of him in the army of the allies, as in that of France. There was one day in the year, in which he usually visited a certain town in his diocese, to perform an office of devotion. This was known in the army of the allies, and he could not go without passing very near their camp. Upon this they took such measures, that the detachments which were posted on the road might bring him to the camp, that they might have the satisfaction of seeing and hearing him. He had notice of it; but did not think that either his character as a subject of the King, with whom they were at war, or his state of banishment into his own diocese, which still subsisted, at least as to the order which had been given him, and which he had never taken pains to have revok'd, would admit of his yielding to the design they had upon him. Whatever there was in this adventure to gratify his vanity, it had

had no effect upon him, and therefore he put off the journey he intended. If the generals of the allies were at any time inform'd, that any place which lay near their army belong'd peculiarly to him, they immediately set guards upon it, and preserv'd the corn and the wood with the same care as if it had been the property of one of the most considerable among themselves. And these places thus protected upon his account, became even places of refuge to the whole neighbourhood. At the close of the campaign in 1711, the army of the allies was in such a position as to lie within view of the ramparts of Cambray, and between the army of France and the little town of Cateau-Cambresis, which is the principal domaine of the Archbishops of Cambray. The place was fill'd with the Archbishop's corn, and the stores which the country people had repositied there for shelter. The Duke of Marlborough immediately ordered them to be taken care of by a detachment which he sent thi-

ther for that purpose. But, upon foreseeing that the scarcity of provisions for the subsistence of his army would not permit him to hold out in refusing to let his soldiers forage in that little village, he gave M. de Cambray notice of it. Accordingly the corn was put into waggons, and convey'd, within sight of the camp of the allies, by an escort of their troops as far as the arsenal of Cambray, which was a kind of general quarters to the army of France, from its neighbouring post on that side of the town. This very singular circumstance shews to what a height the regard for him was carried.

This honour, which was paid to his virtue, was interrupted by a very great affliction. The Duke of Burgundy, who not a year ago was become Dauphin, and immediate heir to the throne, by the death of the Dauphin his father, died himself. In the height of his grief, the Archbishop was heard to intermingle these words with his sighs, *All my bonds are broken.*

These

These were lawful bonds indeed ; but 'tis God's will that they should be broken in the souls which he will have devoted entirely to himself.

Certain childish amusements, join'd to the trifling employments of time which a court presents to a young prince upon his first appearance in the world, had for a while obscur'd a little of the precious seed which had been sown in the heart of his highness, and which ought to have brought forth fruit in abundance ; but, for a long time before his death, the great principles he had imbib'd, and which had taken deep root during the course of his education, had entirely gotten the upper hand. The disgrace he suffer'd in the campaign he made in 1708, when France lost Lille, gave the finishing stroke to his perfection. He thereby learnt by experience the truth of what they oft had told him, that greatness, instead of placing men above the censures of the world, render'd them far more liable to them than o-
ther

ther men; that the greatest Kings have but borrow'd power; that their confidence is vain, when they imagine themselves strong from the multitude of troops they draw together; that the division of the commanding officers, an unlucky accident, a shadow, a nothing, shall spread a terror in those vast bodies, and be capable of giving a shock to the greatest states.

The letters written by the Archbishop upon the mistakes of that sad campaign, with the prince's answers, whereof the originals are still subsisting in his own hand-writing, supply us with valuable testimonials concerning the object of their correspondence and confidence. In them we discern in the pupil a deep sense of Religion join'd with candour, goodness, and a fix'd resolution to learn the most difficult truths. *I will endeavour to make use of the advice you give me. Pray to God, that he will give me his grace so to do. — Desire of God more and more that he will grant me the love of him above all things,*

things, above myself, friends, enemies, for him, and in him.—I listen to a great many speeches that are made, and will still be made. I condemn myself, where I find I am to blame, and I despise the rest; sincerely pardoning all that wish me ill, or do ill to me, and praying for them. These are my sentiments, my dear Archbishop, and notwithstanding all my faults, an absolute determination to give myself up to God. Pray to him without ceasing, that he will be pleased to finish in me what he has already begun, and destroy in me whatever proceeds from original sin and myself. You know that my friendship for you is always the same.

Ever since the misfortunes of this campaign he was become a new man. He was continually employed in forming of plans, which might one day be of service, in providing remedies for whatever stood in need of amendment in the state, and give him before-hand a thorough knowledge of the evils, and their true remedies.

The

The elevation of his genius, and the integrity of his heart, began to make a strong impression upon the King's mind, and to gain him a very large share in his confidence. He every day acquir'd a greater weight in the council. Upon an occasion, where their sentiments were divided, some being guided by the express terms of a treaty, and others urging the advantages which would arise by not strictly adhering to it, he gave his opinion in one word, *There is a treaty.* The Duke of Burgundy spoke but that word, the rest was all included, and the King follow'd his advice.

Some days after his death, the King order'd the box to be brought him, which contain'd the prince's most private papers. Upon this Madam de Maintenon wrote the following letter to the Duke of Beauvilliers. *I would have sent you whatever was found there of yours and the Archbishop's of Cambray, but the King would burn it himself. I own to you, I was greatly concern'd*

cern'd at it, for nothing can ever be wrote so beautiful and so good; and if the prince we lament has had some faults, it has not been for want of free advice, or from having been too much flatter'd. We may say, that those who walk upright, are never confounded. The letter was dated from St. Cyr, Mar. 15, 1712. It subsists in the original, ^a written by Madam de Maintenon's own hand.

This testimony of Madam de Maintenon is very express, who wrote this fifteen years after she had warmly declared herself against the Archbishop of Cambray, and after having seen so long time pass without any motion on his side to regain the old confidence she had formely placed in him to the highest degree.

^a This original is now in the hands of the Marquis de Fenelon, and was given to him by the Duchess of Beauvilliers. The original manuscript of the Heads of Self-examination for a King, came into his hands likewise after the same manner. It was deposited in the hands of the Duke de Beauvilliers, who preserv'd it from the fate of all the other papers in the box, which were burnt.

Some

Some persons, who would be thought to be very knowing, have given out as of their own knowledge, that Madam de Maintenon finding great opposition to a declaration which she had much at heart, the affair was referr'd to the decision of three persons, whereof the Archbishop of Cambray was one; that he had presided in this little assembly, and had given the casting vote against the declaration; that he had even written a letter to Madam de Maintenon in strong terms, to dissuade her from this declaration, wherein he told her, that if she prevail'd to gain a consent to it, notwithstanding the great dislike that there was of it, in all probability it would occasion a coldness of disposition towards herself; and that then having nothing more to do, she would lose a real credit for a vain representation; and, lastly, that she ought rather to love the glory of the person in debate, than her own private advantage, and that this motive of disinterestedness should induce her to lay aside her views:

views: And that this was what begun to create in her a dislike to the maxims of pure love. However, the change was not made all at once; her confidence for some time continued to appear the same; but after a short space it lessen'd by imperceptible degrees, till at length, when the disputes rais'd against Madam Guion were at the height, and made use of to the disservice of the Archbishop of Cambray, her heart was the more readily inclin'd to be prejudiced against him. But supposing, that this anecdote was not a fiction invented by such persons as pretend to dive farther than others into the mysteries of the court, it is at least certain, that those who were most conversant with the Archbishop of Cambray, and had a very great share in his confidence, never heard any thing drop from him, which could give the least credit to the story. We even see by the letter, we have given above, from Madam de Maintenon to the Duke of Beauvilliers, how capable she was of
doing

doing justice to those, with whom she had not the least intercourse, by reason of the part she had acted against them.

In the mean while, what the Archbishop had so little sought after was brought about happily of itself. K. Lewis XIV. had for some time past been entirely reconciled to him in opinion. A few months before the conclusion of the peace at Utrecht, the bishoprick of Ypres was vacant. This preferment he gave to the Abbé de Laval, who resided with the Archbishop of Cambray in his palace as his friend, and whom he had drawn nearer to himself, by making him vicar-general of his diocese. Thus by little and little the disgrace wore off. His majesty afterwards attempting to put an end to the great affair which disturb'd the church within his dominions, and which this great Prince had not the satisfaction to see brought to a conclusion before his death, had thoughts of recalling the Archbishop,
in

in order to employ him in this great work. What had not been done in the life-time of the Duke of Burgundy, whose death had been preceded and follow'd by the decease of the^b Dukes of Chevreuse and Beauvilliers, was insensibly brought about by the necessity of affairs alone, at a time when the bishop of Cambray had lost all those who might have been a support to him at court. He saw things disposing themselves to this return with very different views from what mankind usually have upon such occasions. He thought of nothing but retirement. If they had oblig'd him to come to court, he would have gone thither only to give his thoughts upon the proper methods of restoring a solid peace to the church of France, and then have retir'd as soon as he had brought about a reunion. This reunion was all that he had in view. At the same time his scheme of retiring made him

^b The Archbishop's two intimate friends,

even

even think of setting himself entirely at liberty, by giving up his archbishoprick ; and he had taken his measures accordingly. After the most exact enquiries into the merits of different subjects, to fix upon one whom he might desire of the King, that his majesty would be pleased to appoint for his successor, he was almost determin'd upon the Abbé de Tavanès, who is at present bishop of Châlons sur Marne. This was a young clergyman who did not appear in the great world till after the Archbishop of Cambray had left it, never more to come out of his diocese. He had not the least affinity with him, either by parentage, or any other relation. He was not even personally acquainted with him, but was absolutely determin'd by the testimonies which those whom he had consulted had given of him, and who, being upon the spot, were best able to judge of the subjects that were most promising. But all this was so privately carried on, that in all probability the
person

person whom it most concern'd may at this very time be ignorant of it.

These were the dispositions of the Archbishop of Cambray, when an acute disease, which lasted but a few days, carried him out of the world on the 7th of January 1715, in the 64th year of his age. The evening he died, he wrote the following letter to F. Le Tellier, his majesty's confessor.

“ I have just receiv'd the extreme
“ unction. 'Tis in this state, my
“ reverend father, wherein I prepare
“ myself to appear in the presence of
“ God, that I beg of you instantly to
“ lay my real sentiments before the
“ King. I ever was dispos'd to sub-
“ mit to the church, and have always
“ held in abhorrence the novelties
“ which have been imputed to me. I
“ receiv'd the condemnation of my
“ book with the most absolute sim-
“ plicity. There never was a single
“ moment in my life, wherein I did
“ not bear the warmest acknowledg-
“ ments of gratitude towards the King,
“ the

“ the sincerest zeal, the most profound respect, and most inviolable attachment to his person.

“ I take the liberty of asking two favours of his majesty, which do not regard either myself, or any of mine. The one is, that his majesty would have the goodness to appoint me a successor, that is pious, regular, good, and zealous against Janse- nism, which has gain'd ground in these quarters. The other is, that he will be pleas'd to accomplish with my successor, what could not be done with me, for Mess. de S. Sulpice. I am indebted to his majesty for the succour I receiv'd from them; nothing can be seen more apostolical and more venerable. If his majesty will be pleased to signify to my successor, that he would do well to conclude with these gentlemen what is already so far advanc'd, the affair will soon be finish'd. I heartily wish his majesty a long life, which the church, no less than the state, has
“ infinite

“ infinite need of. If I am admitted
“ into the presence of God, I will fre-
“ quently beg of him the same fa-
“ vours.”

The King, who had design'd to employ the Archbishop of Cambray in the affair we have mention'd, seem'd very much afflicted with his loss. When the news of it was brought to him, he answered very sorrowfully, *He is wanting to us at a time we have need of him.* His death was lamented at Cambray, like that of a parent. Such of his contemporaries, as are now left in the country, cannot see any person who recalls him to their mind without tears. Several of those who had confided wholly in him during his lifetime, for the direction of their consciences, took pains, after his death, to communicate the letters they had received from him upon different occasions, and which they had preserv'd as a treasure of great value. They were form'd into one collection, which makes up several volumes, and has been printed

under the title of *Spiritual Compositions*. In this collection were comprehended divers pious discourses, which the Archbishop had seen published in his lifetime under different titles. Those persons into whose hands the manuscripts had fallen, did not print them without taking the liberty to alter them, under a pretence of making such corrections, as their want of judgment in matters of this nature had led them to think necessary. In the edition of the *Spiritual Compositions* they were collated with exact copies, that were again at this time found, and restor'd to their former integrity. There are, however, some fragments, tho' very few, wherein those copies were defective. But the passages, wherein these alterations have been made, are easy to be discern'd from the perplex'd intermixture of phrases and thoughts, whereby the genuine text, which is plainly to be distinguish'd by the style, is seen only by intervals. The different editions which have been already sent abroad
of

of these *Spiritual Compositions*, were all of them very greedily bought up by the publick. There are found among them letters and discourses written at all times of the life of this illustrious prelate, both before, and after the affair of his book of *The Maxims of the saints*, and all with the same spirit. 'Tis in one of the volumes of this collection, that the letters written to the Duke of Burgundy during his unfortunate campaign in 1708. have been inserted, what concern'd private persons only being left out.

The same spirit which the Archbishop had retain'd to the close of his life, without attempting to raise himself from his disgrace in France, had likewise rendered him undesirous of the dignity, which is the great object of the ambition of prelates. All that had pass'd in the affair of his book, the constant tenor of his conduct in it, and the simplicity of his submission after the judgment, had made a strong

impression upon the mind of Innocent XII. This Pope died without declaring two cardinals, which he had nominated *in Petto*. Letters from Rome containing a particular account of the circumstances of it, and from the best hands, shew'd in time, that the Archbishop of Cambray was one of them. They said, that the holy father being upon his death-bed would have declar'd him, but he was dissuaded from it by those who represented to him the danger of thereby disobliging the court of France, which had laid the condemnation of the Archbishop's book so much to heart. They had urg'd, that this might make a difference between the two courts, and even be prejudicial to the Archbishop, as it would still more exasperate his own court, to see him nominated to the cardinalship, at a time when he was look'd upon there to be in disgrace. The Pope yielded to these representations, and died without declaring either

ther of the two whom he had reserv'd
in Petto^a.

Cardinal Albani, who succeeded him under the name of Clement XI. was doubtless not ignorant of what his predecessor had design'd. Besides, this cardinal had been always one of those who were most inclin'd to favour the Archbishop in the affair of his book, and he continued constantly to have a

^a The printed piece publish'd in 1732, under the form of a journal, whereof mention has been already made in the notes at page 113, and 164, may lead those into an error who shall read what is there found concerning Mess. Rodolovich and Sperelli, whom Pope Innocent XII. had declared Cardinals some months before his death, and who were, says the journal, *in Petto*. He should have also added, that there were two others who remained *in Petto* till the pope's death, who died without declaring them; but this the journal passes over in silence. The omission is remarkable, because in this journal they have affected to set down even the minutest circumstances. But this is sufficient to shew that the writers who publish'd that piece, have endeavour'd artfully to convey such notions, as in the minds of unwary readers would be apt to contradict the facts, which they were dispos'd not to have believ'd. This libel furnishes us in almost every page with instances of this kind of artfully endeavouring to elude, and of substituting shocking inventions instead of truth.

singular regard for him. Any other person besides the Archbishop of Cambray would have thence found means not to have been forgotten in the promotions that were made; but then he must have departed from the principles which he follow'd during his whole life. F. d'Aubenton had spent at Rome the interval, which pass'd between his departure from the court of Spain, and the time of his being recall'd to supply the place of Confessor to King Philip V. a second time. The Archbishop of Cambray kept up a regular correspondence with him upon the subject of religion, and he communicated what the Archbishop wrote to the Pope. This was a very favourable channel, to make himself be thought of to his own advantage. F. d'Aubenton was still at Rome in 1715, when the news was brought thither of the Archbishop's death. Clement XI. under the affliction he was in for it, reproach'd the jesuit for not having ever recommended the Archbishop of Cambray to be
made

made a Cardinal. This F. d'Aubenton sent word of to one of his friends at Paris, who is still living. Thus we may say, that the most absolute declension from any endeavour to procure any sort of temporal advantage to himself, was the constant and real quietism of this great man.

The END.

and a certain kind of a person

can well be said to be a person

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THE
 GENEALOGY
 OF

M. de FENELON,

Archbishop of CAMBRAY.

It was not judged proper to clog the short account given above with a recital of what might be alledged to the advantage of the birth of the Archbishop of Cambray, and therefore it has been reserved for a chapter by itself.

THIS Great Man was descended from the house of Salignac or Salagnac, a family of great note in Perigord. The lands belonging to the family are in the country called Salagnac. A like variation has been com-

mon to several other great families in those Provinces. *Armagnac, Armignac; Cardaillac, Cardillac; Pardailan, Pardillan; Salagnac, Salignac*, and sometimes also *Saleignac*. The orthography of the most antient records was even *Armanbac, Salanbac, Cardalbac, Pardalban, &c.* In the same record the same name is sometimes written according to these different pronuntiations.

Formerly, the principal lands in the country were Baronies and Châtelenies. Salagnac was always the chief Châtelenie in Perigord. The lands at present consist of several large parishes; before they were dismembered, they amounted to eighteen.

The children of Aimery de Salagnac are mentioned in a record made in the year 1281, containing a decree for a partition of the lands of the family of Salagnac. It allots to the parceners, which were not of the name of Salagnac, and which could be only collaterals

laterals descended from a wife of a former possessor of the whole land, their respective portions. The one half is at the same time reserved in a lump to the coparceners of the name of Salagnac, to be divided amongst them (says the decree) in such portions, as are customary. This partition therefore necessarily carries back the descent to a common ancestor, from whom Aimery and the collaterals must have sprung, with whom his children were coparceners of the same land, as of a common patrimony; and this Aimery de Salagnac must have been already very much advanced in age in the year 1260, as by an instrument of his, bearing date the same year, he appears to have then had several of his children married. In going still farther backward, we find a great number of other Salagnacs, possessors of the lordship of that name, and we see in the most antient seals the same arms the family now bears.

But we have not certain proofs enough to fix the filiation higher than this Aimery.

Bozon de Salagnac was elected Archbishop of Bourdeaux in 1296. We cannot exactly find out what relation he bore to the Aimery above-mentioned; but they both occur in an instrument of the family dated in 1275, where they are both mentioned together, and with the children of the said Aimery. This instrument was executed at Sarlat, a town very nearly adjacent to the lands of Salagnac. Bozon is therein termed Archdeacon of the church of Bourdeaux, in which station he was, when he was afterwards elected Archbishop. A second Bozon de Salagnac, who was in like manner as the former Archdeacon of Medoc in the church of Bourdeaux, was made Bishop of Cominges in 1300. Helias de Salignac was also Archbishop of Bourdeaux in 1361, after having been before Bishop of Sarlat. The last

last • *Gallia Christiana*, in making mention of these two Archbishops, says of the former; *Ex vetustâ et nobili gente Baronum de Salignaco, in Petrocoriis oriundus*; and of the second, *Hic Archiepiscopus cognominabatur de Salignac, quæ gens in Pago Petrogori-*

• There are two *Gallia Christiana*'s, or rather two editions; the first in 1656, was published by the two brothers *Ste. Marthe*; the second by *F. Ste. Marthe* of the congregation of St. Maur, in two volumes, of which the first was published in 1715, and the second in 1720. The oldest of these *Gallia Christiana*'s mentions no other *Salignac* Archbishop of Bourdeaux, but the first elected in 1296; but the *Gallia Christiana* of 1715, and 1720. speak of both. At the same time it gives proofs of the second, named *Helias*, which are indisputable, and thoroughly confute the opinion of those persons, who assign this *Helias* to another family. But this new *Gallia Christiana* falls in its turn into another error. The agreement in the name of *Bozon*, and the title of Archdeacon of the same Archdeaconry of *Medoc* in the Church of Bourdeaux, lead the Author to think, that the two *Bozons*, one Archbishop of Bourdeaux, and the other Bishop of *Cominges*, might be the same; and pursuant to this notion of permutation, contrary to all probability, supported by the proofs arising from an exact enquiry into the antient records, he makes *Bozon de Salignac* Archbishop of Bourdeaux to be translated from that Archbishoprick to the Bishoprick of *Cominges*.

censu est antiquissima et nobilissima. The name of the family of Bozon, the first of these two Archbishops, is called *Salagnac* in the writ of his election.

This family has besides this given five Bishops to the town of Sarlat, exclusive of the Bishop who was translated from this see to the Archbishoprick of Bourdeaux; they are all mentioned in both the *Gallia Christiana's*, and three of them were of the branch of La Mothe Fenelon. This branch, which is now the eldest, derives its original from *Raymond de Salignac* or *Salagnac*, whose father was *John*, and his grandfather *Maffroy de Salagnac*, the grandson of Aimery above-mentioned. This *Maffroy*, in 1316, had married one *Estaing*, whose name was *Helis*, the sister of *Raymond d'Estaing*, Seneschal of Rouergue, from whence are derived all that are left remaining of the illustrious name of *Estaing*. *John*, the son of *Maffroy* and *Helis d'Estaing*, married *Gaillarde de Montauriol*, a family which has been long extinct.

extinct. *Raymond de Salagnac* their son was Lord of *Salagnac, la Motte, Fenelon*, and divers other lands. He was Seneschal of *Quercy* and *Perigord*, an office at that time of great power and authority in the provinces. It is also said in some ancient memoirs, that he was Lieutenant-general in the government of *Guienne*, in the absence of the Sire d'*Albret*. The Historians, who speak of him, call him *Raymond de Salignac*; they place him in the number of Lords, who towards the end of the reign of *Charles VI.* supported the party of the Dauphin beyond the *Loire*. They say this of him in particular, that he served without pay for several years, having eighteen *Ecuyers* under his banner. He was married to a daughter of the house of *Peruse Escars*, who amongst other illustrations had the honour of contracting an alliance with a *Bourbon* of the Blood Royal, and the heiress of the branch of *Carency*. From the children of this *Raymond*, who was living

living in 1444, were descended the branches of the name of *Salignac*, as well the two elder which are extinct, as that of *La Mothe Fenelon*, which still subsists, and has itself also been divided. There were also other branches, which formed great and illustrious alliances, and sprung from the brothers of the said *Raymond*, but they are likewise all extinct. The eldest of his children, named *Anthony*, is called Chamberlain to the King, and Governor of Limozin and Perigord. He married *Jane de Caumont*, the daughter of *Brandelis* Lord of *Cau-mont*, from which *Brandelis de Cau-mont* sprung the two Marshals *de la Force*, and the Dukes of that name. The eldest son of this *Anthony* was twice married; first, with one *Tailleurand*, of the illustrious house of the Princes of *Chalais*; and the second time with a daughter of the family of *Pierre-Buffiere*. He left only daughters by both these marriages; two by the first marriage were themselves married,

ried, one of them by a dispensation with the Lord of Taillerand, Prince of Chalais, her cousin; and the other with ^b *Francis d'Aydie* Viscount of Riberac; the other three Sisters by the second marriage married all of them Lords of the name of *Gontaut de Biron*. One of them, being appointed principal heiress, brought her husband the land of *Salagnac*, upon condition that the children, which should be born of this marriage, should bear the name and arms of *Salagnac* with the name and arms of *Gontaut de Biron*, which was executed by their posterity. There were also three other daughters of the name of *Salagnac*, married into the same family of *Biron*. *Gaston de Gontaut* Baron of *Biron*, who was great-grandfather to the famous *Armand*, the first of the two Marshals

^b *Guy d'Aydie*, Viscount of *Riberac*, born of this marriage, was married to *Mary de Foix*, the niece of *Anne de Foix* married to *LADISLAS VI.* King of Hungary and Bohemia, and mother to *Anne of Hungary*, who married the Emperor *FERDINAND I.*

de Biron, in 1456, was married to *Catharine de Salagnac*, the father of *Raymond*, and from this marriage sprung the whole house of *Gontaut de Biron*.

From a younger son of *Anthony de Salagnac*, the eldest of *Raymond's* children, descended another branch. Of this branch was *Geraud de Salagnac*, Lord of the lands of *Rochefort* and *Rochemeau* in Limozin. He had been governor to *Henry IV.* in the childhood of that great Prince. His son *Francis* was married to one *St. Maure*, sister to *Francis de St. Maure* Lord of *Montauzier*, grand-father to the late Duke of *Montauzier*, Peer of *France*. Their son *Samuel de Salagnac* married *Olympe Grain de St. Marsaut*, who surviving her husband was married a second time to *Anbussou Count de la Feuillade*, grand-father by another marriage to the first Marshal Duke of *la Feuillade*. *Achilles de Salagnac*, the son of *Samuel* and *Grain St. Marsaut*, was the last of this branch. He married a daughter of the name of *Meillers*

lers in *Limozin*, by whom he had several children, but none of them were left remaining except only daughters, the eldest of whom became an heiress by the death of her brothers, being at this time married to the Marquis de *St. Abre*, of the name of *La Cropte*, who was a Lieutenant-General in the army of M. de *Turenne*, and slain in 1674. Thus ended the elder branches derived from *Anthony* the eldest of the sons of *Raymond*. *John* their third son, the second being Bishop of *Sarlat*, had for his partition *La Motte*, *Fenelon*, and *Gaulejac*. From this *John* and one *Lauzieres Themines*, whom he married, is descended the branch of *La Motte Fenelon*. *Heli*as their son married one *Segur Theaubon*, by whom he had issue. In the number of his children was *Bertrand*, who distinguished himself by his merit. There is mention made of him by the name of *Bertrand de Salignac de la Motte Fenelon* in different places in the histories and memoirs of the reigns of
HEN.

HEN. II. and the Kings his children: He was in *Metz* whilst very young, at the time the Emperor Charles V. laid siege to it, which siege he raised. He has left behind him a journal of it, which has been commended and followed by historians of judgment in the account they have given of that famous siege. He was employed also in divers embassies. He was returning from England, where he had been several years ambassador, when he was nominated knight of the Holy Ghost at the institution of the order by King HENRY the third. He was not however instituted in the first chapter, nor received till one of the next, being absent and employed in the King's business along with the Queen-mother in Guienne, at the time this first chapter was held. He returned a second time into England, being one of the Lords who made up the famous embassy, which had a Prince of the Blood at the head of it, and was sent by King HENRY III. into England to sign in
his

his name, and in the name of the Duke of Alençon his brother then Duke of Anjou, the contract of marriage between that Prince and Queen ELIZABETH. This contract was actually signed on the 11th of June 1581. and we there see *Bertrand de Salignac de la Mothe Fenelon* amongst the commissioners and ambassadors of HENRY III. who signed it. He was chosen, soon after the conclusion of the peace of *Vervins*, by King HENRY IV. for his ambassador in Spain; and died at Bourdeaux in 1599, as he was upon his way thither. He was never married. His elder brother *Armand*, called gentleman of the chamber to the King, and Knight of his order of St. Michael, had several children by his wife, *Hunaud Lanta*, a name of distinction in Languedoc. Of these children of *Armand*, *John*, who was the eldest that survived, married one *Pelligrue*, by whom he had issue.

He

* A cardinal of this house of Pellegruë was legate

He had begun to distinguish himself. After the loss of the battle of Coutras by the Catholics, he threw himself into the town of Sarlat, which the troops of the Viscount de Turenne were coming to besiege; and he defended it so bravely, that the siege was raised. In memory of this deliverance there is kept every year a kind of feast in the town, with a sermon, wherein there is always honourable mention made of the family of Fenelon. After this success, he marched himself to attack the little town of Dome, but was slain in the attack. His son Francis married the only daughter of ^d *Horace de Bonneval*, the eldest of the house of *Bonneval*. From this marriage sprung *Pons de Salignac de la*

gate in Italy for Pope Clement V. his uncle, who then resided at Avignon, and for whom this cardinal gain'd the battle of Francolin in 1309, against the Venetians, and recover the town of Ferrara.

^d The great grand-father and great-grand-mother of this Horace were Anthony Lord of Bonneval, and Margaret de Foix his wife, cousin-german to Gaston Count of Foix, Prince of Navarre, and heir to that crown.

Motbe Fenelon, the father of *Francis de Salignac* Archbishop of Cambray. *Pons* had this illustrious child by a second marriage, which he contracted in an advanced age with * *Louisa de la Cropte*, sister to the Marquis de *St. Abre* already mentioned, who was slain a lieutenant-general in the service, and had himself married a *Salignac*. *Pons* had several brothers; among others, *Francis* Bishop of *Sarlat*, and *Anthony*, who bore the title of Marquis de Fenelon, and who had raised himself considerably in the world by his personal merit. He was the principal mover in setting on foot what passed in the younger days of King Lewis XIV. concerning duels, and which in its consequences was one of the most memorable circumstances of the glorious reign of that great Prince.

* *Mademoiselle de Beauvais*, who had the honour to marry M. the Count de *Soissons*, elder brother to the famous Prince *Eugene of Savoy*, and from whom are descended the Princes his Nephews, was of the same name of *La Cropte*, of the branch of *Beauvais Chantillac*.

He had in the time of the Queen-mother a brevet of nomination for the order of the Holy Ghost, which however did not then take place at the promotion made in 1661. He had married a daughter of the illustrious house of *Mantberon*, who being an only child was the heiress of her branch of the family. There was left by this marriage only one daughter, married into the house of *Laval*, and who was mother to the Marquis of *Laval*, chief of the name of that illustrious house of *Laval-Montmorency*.

It was this Marquis de Fenelon, who, having taken notice of the extraordinary talents in the young Abbé de Fenelon his nephew, sent for him to Paris, took care of his youth, and contributed very much to make him early known. The Abbé being nominated preceptor to the Princes of France in 1689. the consideration of his distinguished birth procured, from the day that he entered upon the discharge of his office towards the Duke
of

of Burgundy, the honour of eating at his table, and sitting with him in the coach; an honour which had never been granted to any preceptor in the preceding educations. Six years after, that is in 1695, the Abbé de Fenelon was nominated to the archbishoprick of Cambray, and filled the see near twenty years, with the reputation which all the world is acquainted with.

Pons de Salagnac de la Motte Fenelon, the father of this great Archbishop, had by his first marriage with a daughter of *Francis d'Esparbez*, Marquis of *Aubeterre* and Marshal of France, amongst other children, *Francis*, who married *Anne du Lac de la Pérede*, heiress by her mother, who was of the name of the Marshal *du Bourg*, to an elder branch of that Marshal's family. Their son, named also *Francis*, Marquis *de la Motte Fenelon*, is at present the head of the family. By his lady, who was of the house of *Beupoil St. Aulaire*, a name of distinction in Perigord, he had several
K children,

children, and amongst others *James Gabriel de Salignac*, Marquis of *Fenelon*, who being brought up at Cambray under his great-uncle the Archbishop, passed from thence into the world. In 1725, he came ambassador into Holland. Three years after, he was removed from thence to fill the place of second plenipotentiary of the legation of France at the congress of Soissons, where Cardinal *de Fleury* was at the head. This congress breaking up, he was sent a second time into Holland, where he now resides under the character of ambassador^f. He has several children by *Louisa Frances Le Peletier* his lady, the sister of M. *Le Peletier*, the elder of the presidents à mortier in the parliament of Paris, and daughter of the late M. *Le Peletier*, the premier president.

^f It is this minister who was killed in the battle of Liege on the 11th of October, N. S. 1746, and one of whose sons was dangerously wounded in the battle of Dettingen, where he behaved extremely well, and from whence he was carefully sent back to the army of France, where he now serves with distinction.

AN EXACT
CATALOGUE
OF THE
WORKS

Of the late

M. FRANCIS DE SALIGNAC
DE LA MOTHE FENELON,

Archbishop of CAMBRAY, and for-
merly Preceptor to the Princes of
FRANCE.

1. **A** *Treatise of the office of pastors,*
printed in 1688.
2. *A Treatise concerning the educa-
tion of daughters, augmented, in the
second edition, with an Advice to a
lady of quality, concerning the education
of her daughter.*

K 2

3. *Maxims*

3. *Maxims of the saints concerning the inward life explain'd.*

Pope Innocent XII. condemn'd this book by a brief bearing date March 12, 1699. Rome however would not include in this condemnation the apologetical discourses which the author had wrote during the course of the dispute, both to defend himself from the unjust reproaches of his adversaries, and to vindicate his doctrine. These apologetical discourses are those which follow.

1. *A pastoral instruction concerning the book of the Maxims of the saints.*

2. *An answer to the declaration of the Archbishop of Paris, the bishop of Meaux, and the bishop of Chartres, against the book entituled, The maxims of the saints explain'd.*

3. *An answer to the book of the bishop de Meaux, entituled, Summa Doctrinae.*

4. *A dissertation upon the real differences between the doctrine of the bishop of Meaux, and that of M. de Cambray.*

5. *Four*

5. Four letters to the Archbishop of Paris upon his pastoral instruction of the 27th of October 1697.

6. Five letters to the bishop of Meaux.

7. An answer to the discourse of the bishop of Meaux entituled, A relation concerning Quietism.

8. A reply to the bishop of Meaux's remarks upon the answer to the relation.

9. Three letters in answer to that of the bishop of Meaux.

10. Two letters in answer to the pastoral letter of the bishop of Chartres concerning the book entituled, The maxims of the saints explain'd.

11. Two letters to M. de Chartres, in answer to the letter of a divine.

12. A letter to the bishop of Meaux, in answer to his latin treatise entituled, Mystici in tuto, upon passive prayer.

13. A letter to M. de Meaux, in answer to his latin treatise entituled, Scholastici in tuto, concerning charity.

14. A letter to the bishop of Meaux concerning charity.

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15. *An answer to the tract of the bishop of Meaux entituled, Quæstion-cula.*

16. *Decisive precedents against the bishop of Meaux.*

17. *A letter upon the bishop of Meaux's answer to the work entituled, Decisive precedents.*

18. *Two letters to the bishop of Meaux concerning the twelve propositions he would have censur'd by the doctors of Paris.*

19. *Two letters to the bishop of Meaux in answer to a piece intituled, The passages cleared up, &c.*

20. *An answer to the Archbishop of Paris.* This is in latin.

21. *The principal propositions of the book of the Maxims of the saints, justified by very strong expressions of the sacred writers.*

This collection was the last of the apologetical pieces of the Archbishop of Cambray. It came not to Rome till after the judgment given against the book of the Maxims.

22. *The*

22. The mandate of the 9th of April 1699, for the acceptation of the brief of Pope Innocent XII. in condemnation of the book of the Maxims of the saints, and the three and twenty propositions extracted from it.

23. The report of the assembly of bishops in the province of Cambray, of the 15th and 16th of May 1699, for the acceptation of the said brief.

24. The mandate of the 30th of September 1700, reiterating the acceptation of the same brief.

His Works against Jansenism are these which follow.

1. *A first ordinance and pastoral instruction, containing a condemnation of a printed piece entituled, A case of conscience.*

2. *A second pastoral instruction, to clear up several difficulties objected in divers pieces against the first pastoral instruction of the 10th of Feb. 1704.*

K 4

3. *A*

3. *A third pastoral instruction, containing proofs of the tradition concerning the infallibility of the church, with relation to orthodox or heretical texts.*

4. *A fourth pastoral instruction, wherein tis prov'd, that it is the church which requires the signing of a form; and that the requiring this subscription is grounded upon the infallibility, which has been promised to her in judging of dogmatical texts.*

5. *A letter to a divine upon the subject of his pastoral instructions.*

6. *An answer to a bishop upon several difficulties, which he had proposed to him upon the subject of his pastoral instructions.*

7. *An answer to the letter of the bishop of St. Pons.*

8. *An ordinance, and pastoral instruction, for the publication of the constitution of our holy father Pope Clement XI. of the 16th of July against Jansenism.*

9. *A letter to a divine, by way of answer to an anonymous latin libel, beginning with these words, Reverende admodum*

modum Domine, De formulâ subscribendâ, &c.

10. *A letter upon a work entituled, Defensio autoritatis ecclesiæ.*

11. *A letter to his highness the Elector of Cologne, concerning the protestation of the anonymous author of a latin letter, and of the book entituled, Defensio autoritatis ecclesiæ.*

12. *An answer to the second letter of the bishop of St. Pons.*

13. *A pastoral instruction concerning the book entituled, A justification of humble silence, &c.*

14. *A letter concerning the infallibility of the church, with relation to dogmatical texts, with an answer to the principal objections.*

15. *An answer to a second letter of the bishop of —*

16. *A letter to Mr. N. (Baron Karck, Chancellor to the Elector of Cologne) concerning a treatise entituled, The letter of his highness the Elector of Cologne, Bishop and Prince of Liege, concerning the Archbishop of*

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Cambray's letter to his electoral highness of Cologne, &c. against a protestation of a divine of Liege.

17. *Two letters to F. Quesnel, the one touching a piece entituled, Denunciatio sollemnis Bullæ, &c. the other concerning the relation of Cardinal Rospigliosi.*

18. *An ordinance and pastoral instruction, in condemnation of a book entituled, Theologia dogmatica & moralis, ad usum seminarii Catalaunensis, drawn up by M. Habert, doctor of the Sorbonne.*

M. de Cambray, who carried his respect towards all men beyond measure, when he thought it might be done without injury to truth, suspended the publication of this work, tho' it was printed. It did not come abroad in his life-time.

19. *A pastoral instruction, in form of dialogues, divided into three parts, whereof the former lays open the system of Jansenius, its conformity with that of Calvin, concerning pleasure, and its opposition*

position to the doctrine of S. Augustine, in six dialogues; the second, which makes eight dialogues in the first edition, and ten in the last, explains the principal works of S. Augustine concerning grace, the abuse which the Jansenists make of them, and the opposition of their doctrine to that of the Thomists. The last eight dialogues make up the third part, and shew the novelty of the system of Jansenius, and the pernicious consequences of that doctrine to morality.

M. de Cambray was upon a second edition of this work, when he was seiz'd with the disease, which carried him off in a few days. The eleventh dialogue was then in the press. He had himself revis'd the proofs of the former ten, and made considerable additions in them. He had also made two new ones, concerning the will of God to save all mankind. Two days before his death, he gave them to his secretary (M. Stievenard, canon of the church of Cambray, and author of the preface which is set before this edition)

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tion) who had the care of the impression under him, with orders to insert them immediately after the eleventh dialogue, which accordingly was done.

20. *A mandate and pastoral instruction, address'd to the clergy and people of the diocese of Cambray under his Imperial Majesty, for the reception of the the constitution UNIGENITUS of our holy father Pope Clement XI. of the 8th of Sept. 1713, which condemns the book call'd, Moral reflections of F. Quesnel, upon the New Testament, and one hundred and one propositions extracted from it.*

In that part of his diocese, which was subject to France, Mr. de Cambray publish'd the pastoral instruction, drawn up by the assembly of the clergy of France in 1714. for the reception of the said constitution.

DIVERS WORKS.

1. *The Adventures of Telemachus, the son of Ulysses, printed in an authentic manner for the first time in 1717.*

This work drawn up solely for the instruction of the Duke of Burgundy, was publish'd unknown to the author, by the unfaithfulness of some one of the persons into whose hands the copy had fallen. There were several editions of it, but all of them very imperfect. The world is indebted to the family of the Archbishop of Cambray for that which was publish'd at Paris in 1717, from an original manuscript found amongst his papers. The discourse upon epick poetry, which is set before this edition, was drawn up by Mr. Ramsay, a Scotch gentleman, whom the reputation of the Archbishop of Cambray, and a desire to be satisfied by him in his doubts concerning the catholick religion, had brought over into France. The short prefaces are also his, which are placed at the head of the four following works.

2. *Proper heads of Self-examination for a King.* This valuable piece is now first publish'd. It was plac'd after the *Telemachus* in that new edition. It was printed from a manuscript, all written

written with the Archbishop of Cambray's own hand. It was accompanied with a short account of the Archbishop's life, which is now first publish'd also, and comes from the fountain-head.

3. *Dialogues of the dead, antient and modern, with some fables, composed for the education of a Prince*; printed in an authentick manner in 1718.

It is also to the family of M. de Cambray that the publick is indebted for this edition, as also for those that follow. The greatest number of the dialogues, which make up this collection, as also the adventures of Aristonous, had been printed in the author's life-time; but from copies which had escap'd in a very incorrect state, with a great many alterations, and mixtures of other matters which did not belong to him. In this edition the whole was corrected by the originals. It comprehends forty seven dialogues of the antient dead, nineteen of the modern, and six and twenty fables.

4. *Dia-*

4. *Dialogues upon eloquence in general and that of the pulpit in particular; with a letter written to the French academy; printed in 1718.*

The three dialogues contain'd in this collection were never printed before. The edition was made from a manuscript of the authors, written whilst he was young with his own hand, and found amongst his papers after his death. The letter to the academy, who had consulted him about the choice of proper subjects for their occupations, had been printed before.

5. *Letters upon divers subjects concerning religion and metaphysicks; printed for the first time in 1718.*

This collection contains five letters. The first, concerning the existence of God, the proper worship of God, and the true church. The second, upon the worship of God, the immortality of the soul, and free-will. This was written to the Duke of Orleans, who has since been regent, in answer to three metaphysical questions, which that great

great prince had put to the Archbishop of Cambray, and which are to be seen at the head of this letter. In the third, the author treats of the divinity, and of religion. In the fourth, of the idea of infinity, and the liberty of God to create or not create. And lastly, the fifth speaks of religion and the practice of it. None of these letters were publish'd in the author's lifetime.

6. *Philosophical works, or a demonstration of the existence of God*, printed in 1718.

This work is divided into two parts. The first is a demonstration of the existence of God, drawn from the knowledge of nature and of man in particular, adapted to the capacity of the most unlearned. This first part had been publish'd before under the different titles of *The art of nature*, or of *the existence of God*. The second part of these *Philosophical works* is a demonstration of the existence of God, and of his attributes, drawn from proofs purely

ly intellectual, and even from the idea of infinity. It was never before printed, and the manuscript was taken from among the author's papers after his death.

7. *Select sermons upon different subjects.*

This collection, printed in 1718, consists of ten sermons or discourses. The first is for the epiphany. The second upon humility. The third for the feast of the assumption of the blessed Virgin. The fourth for the feast of St. Bernard. The fifth, for that of St. Theresa. The sixth, for the feast of a martyr. The seventh, for the profession of a nun lately converted. The eighth upon prayer. The ninth upon the principal duties and advantages of a religious life. The tenth, upon Christian perfection, or upon true and solid piety. These discourses first appear'd all together in this edition. They had been printed before in the author's life-time, but separately, and without his knowledge, in two different

ent collections, the one entituled, *Spiritual discourses*, and the other, *Select sermons upon divers subjects*.

8. *Prayers for morning and evening, with devout reflections for every day of the month*; printed in 1718.

The *Reflexions for every day of the month* had long been publish'd without the author's name. It was only in the latter part of his life, that M. de Cambray, owning them to be of his composition, join'd them to the *Prayers for morning and evening*, which were then printed by his order. The edition was not finish'd till after his death. Besides the *Prayers for morning and evening*, and the *Reflexions for every day of the month*, the last edition of this small book contains a short *Treatise of prayer*, an *explanation of the ceremonies of the Mass*, a *short way to arrive at perfection*, and *short instructions upon all the sacraments*. The *Instructions* are not M. de Cambray's, but for the most part are taken only from the ritual, which he had drawn up

up for the use of his diocese, and from his other works.

9. *Spiritual compositions.* This collection, which was publish'd three years after the death of the Archbishop of Cambray, was at first divided into two volumes. The greatest part of the tracts which compose the former were written for the private instruction of divers persons, and were afterwards publish'd without the author's knowledge. Those persons into whose hands the manuscripts had fallen, had printed them in different collections, under the titles of *Pious Thoughts, Thoughts concerning repentance, Spiritual discourses, &c.* But at the same time they took the liberty of altering them, under a pretence of making corrections in them, according to their own way of thinking. In the *Spiritual compositions*, as exact copies were made use of as could be found, to restore them to the state they were in at first. The copies were defective only in a few instances; but notwithstanding the alteration which is visible

visible, and shews itself at the first sight, by the difference of style, and perplex'd intermixture of phrases and thoughts, yet even here the genuine text of Mr. de Cambray is from time to time plainly discernible. They are therefore left, notwithstanding the interpolations. It may not however be improper here to point out the passages, where they occur; and they are these:

In the first volume of the edition of 1718. Part I. Art. 7. entituled, *Of the tears of repentance*, pag. 55 and 56.

The 11th Article of the same first part, entituled, *Upon the violence which a Christian must continually offer to himself, in order to obtain the kingdom of heaven*, p. 78, 79, and 80, of the first vol.

In the same first volume, Part II. Art. 6. entituled, *For the feast of the epiphany, or of the kings*, beginning with these words, *O Créateur du Ciel & de la Terre*; and ending with these, *Occupé d'actions de grace & de louanges dans tous les siècles. Ainsi soit-il.* pag. 334, 335, 336, 337, and 338.

The

The 15th Article of the same second part, entituled, *For Easter-day*, beginning with these words, *Vous m'assurez, Seigneur*, and ending with these, *Je supplie votre miséricorde infinie de recevoir mon indignité. Amen.* Pag. 365 of the first volume, to pag. 374.

The 17th Article of the same second part entituled, *For the day of pentecost*, beginning with these words, *Si je m'en vais*, and ending thus, *Dans un gloire ineffable pour toute l'Eternité. Amen.* Pag. 337 of the first volume to pag. 384.

This first volume of the Spiritual compositions is divided into three parts. The first contains divers *Christian thoughts* upon a great number of very important points, relating to piety, morality, and the inward life. The second part contains very *Affecting discourses upon the principal feasts of the year*, to the number of four and twenty; and fourteen *Meditations in time of sickness*. The third part contains no more than what is found in the little book already mentioned, called *Prayers*
for

for morning and evening, &c. The little *Treatise of prayer*, which is also in the same book, is likewise found at the beginning of the first volume of *Spiritual compositions* under the title of *Advice concerning the principal exercises of devotion*.

The second volume contains only *Religious letters*, written to different persons, and collected after the author's death. They were at first printed to the number of two hundred and forty-eight. In 1719, there was a new edition of them, with an addition of twelve, whereof five being recovered after the book was printed off, were placed at the beginning, out of their proper order. The seven others follow after the two hundred and forty-eight, which were printed in the first edition. The five last of these seven were written to a person, who was desirous of embracing the catholick religion, and had applied herself to M. de Cambray for the instruction she stood in need of. They were not written in vain. This person was actually converted, and
sign'd

sign'd the act of abjuration, which was drawn up by the Archbishop, and is added to these letters in the second edition, which has not been the last.

10. *A collection of some small tracts upon different subjects of importance; printed in 1722.*

This collection, publish'd seven years after the author's death, contains a *Letter upon frequent communion*; another in answer to Mr. Guy de Seve de Rochebouart, bishop of Arras, *Upon reading the scriptures in the vulgar tongue*; three letters to F. Lami, a benedictine monk of the congregation of S. Maur, *Upon predestination*; and a *Discourse deliver'd at the consecration of his royal highness Joseph Clement of Bavaria, Elector of Cologne, Bishop and Prince of Liege, &c.*

All the pieces contain'd in this collection are also found in an edition of the *Spiritual compositions* in 5 volumes. They make up the last volume of it. They have added also three letters more of the Archbishop to F. Lami, which are not in this collection, and whereof the

the most considerable treats of *the nature of grace.*

The two following printed pieces may also be added to this catalogue.

1. *A ritual for the use of the diocese of Cambray*, printed in 1707.

The preface, which is set before this ritual, with the short exhortations or instructions how to receive the sacrament worthily, were written by M. de Cambray. In the rest he has almost entirely followed the ritual of his predecessors, with very little alterations.

2. *A collection of mandates publish'd upon the lents, jubilees, and publick prayers*, printed in 1713.

Besides the mandates in this collection, there is one also extant for lent in 1714, bearing date Feb. 4, and another for the first jubilee of the year 1701, granted by our holy father Pope Clement XI. at his entrance upon his pontificate. This mandate bears date June 15, 1701.

